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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE

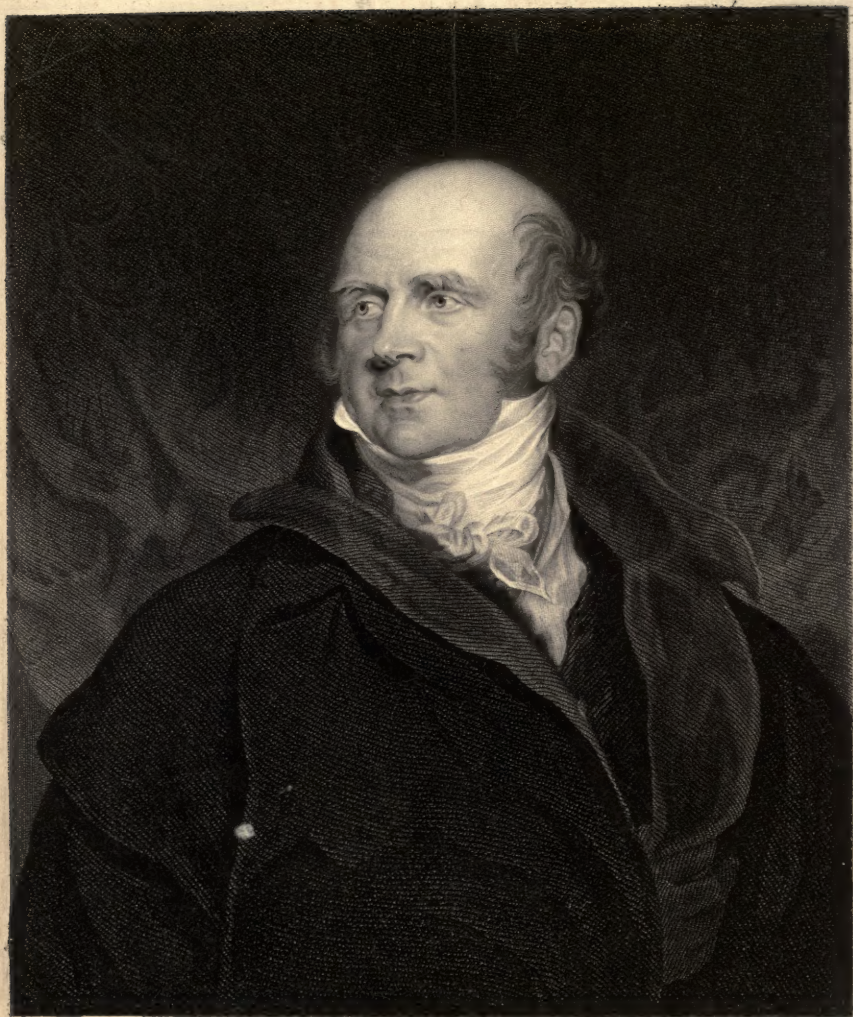
HOUSE OF RUSSELL.

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III



G. E. Hardin sculp.

T. A. Dean sculp.

JOHN, *DUKE OF BEDFORD*, *K.G. &c. &c. &c.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY SIR T. LAWRENCE, P.R.A.

1053h

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HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS
OF THE
HOUSE OF RUSSELL;

FROM
THE TIME OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

By J. H. WIFFEN, M.R.S.L.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NORMANDY,

&c. &c. &c.

"It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time!"—*Bacon*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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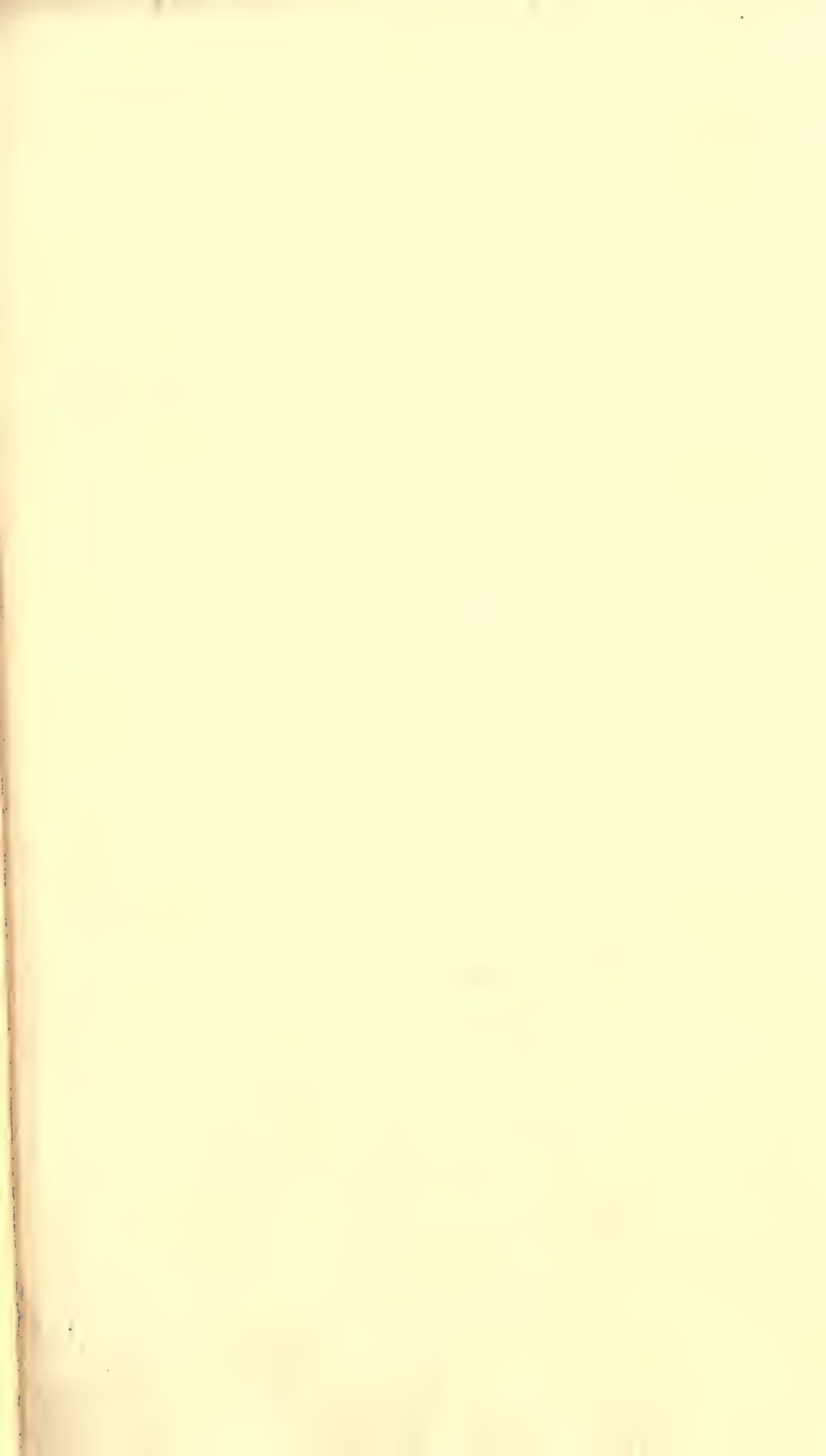
VII

TO
JOHN,
SIXTH DUKE AND TENTH EARL OF BEDFORD, K.G.
Esq. Esq. Esq.

THESE VOLUMES,
UNDERTAKEN WITH THE VIEW OF RESCUING FROM OBLIVION THE ACHIEVEMENTS,
AND OF
COMMEMORATING THE VARIOUS SERVICES TO THE CROWN AND NATION
OF THE
Ancestors of his House,
DURING A PERIOD OF EIGHT HUNDRED YEARS,—
IN THE DESIRE THAT
(AS THE EXAMPLE AND CHARACTER OF PUBLIC MEN ARE PUBLIC PATRIMONY)
WHAT WAS OF DOUBTFUL OR ERRONEOUS TENDENCY IN THEIR ACTIONS MAY BE SHUNNED;
WHAT OF DISINTERESTEDNESS, PATRIOTISM, AND DEVOTION TO THE PUBLIC GOOD,
MAY BE AFFECTIONATELY CHERISHED;
AND WHAT WAS NOBLE, VIRTUOUS, AND OF UNFADING REPUTATION,
MAY BE IMITATED AND EXCELLED
BY HIS

Descendants to many Generations,
ARE,
WITH UNAFFECTED SINCERITY,
AND WITH THE TRUEST RESPECT AND ATTACHMENT,
INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

IT is nearly nine years since the notice in the British Museum of some valuable original letters of Sir John Russell to Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, first suggested to me the idea of collecting together all the records I could find, connected with the Russell family, in Normandy and England. I was attracted to this task by the veneration which from my very early youth I had cherished for the memory of that admirable patriot of their line, to whom the British nation is so deeply indebted for the vindication and perpetuity of its inherent liberties and rights. This feeling alone would not indeed have justified an undertaking like the present; but during the prosecution of long and very laborious researches, the various incidents and correspondence which I met with, particularly of the first two Earls of Bedford, presented so many features of interest, and were so intimately connected with the history of the times in which they flourished, as to furnish me, upon deliberation, with a sufficient warrant and inducement for employing my best powers both of industry and perseverance

in gathering together, and embodying in a systematic narrative, the most memorable actions of the family, from the earliest known period, that could now be gathered from the keep of time. I flattered myself that the survey would, in some degree at least, give back an image of those past ages, manners, and achievements, which at all times strongly excite our curiosity and interest; and that there might be a value and utility which “posterity would not willingly let die,” found couched in the records of a House, the members of which have borne an almost uninterrupted and conspicuous part in British story, from the time of the Norman Dukes to the Tudors, from the Tudors to the Stuarts, and from the domination of that intolerant and repudiated dynasty to the latest constitutional benefits effected under the more congenial sceptre of the House of Hanover. The indulgence of this conviction will perhaps appear to some to savour too strongly of partiality, as the hope of doing justice to the subject may wear to others the appearance of presumption; but it is certain that little can be accomplished that is worthy of enduring, which is not actuated by a love of the subject selected, and sustained in its execution by the studious care arising from the desire of success.

It is unnecessary here to recite by what slow but

certain steps, based always upon authentic records, I was enabled to complete, in an unbroken line, the chain of family descent, and to ascertain the precise spot whence the House derived its surname. The antiquary who engages in a task like this must expect to spend months, and even years, in painful and ill-appreciated study, before the *atoms* of information of which he is in search can be brought to cluster into consistency and form. Little satisfied with the meagre account which even the great Dugdale gives of the early history of the Russell family, I for two years applied myself solely to this portion of the work; and left no chartulary, roll, or record unexamined, that promised to add the least tittle of evidence to that already gleaned from other sources. At the end of this period, after a close examination of the Fine and Close Rolls in the Tower, the Pipe Rolls at Somerset House, and chartularies in our public libraries, I communicated the object of my pursuit to the Duke of Bedford, who, after opening a communication with the venerable Abbé de la Rue, charged me with a mission into Lower Normandy for the farther discovery of family evidences; and it is to his liberality in this particular that I have been enabled to throw so much certain light on his first peculiar progenitors. In the muniment-room of the prefecture at Caen and

in the Tower of Matignon at St. Loo, I revelled in a perfect *mer noire* of abbey charters, those of the whole department of Calvados having been safely deposited in the former during the revolution that swept away the abbeys and their riches—and those of all La Manche being with equal convenience gathered in the latter receptacle. There every bundle which I opened disclosed some note or memorial of the surnames most renowned in Norman or in English story—Cliffords, Percies, Clintons, Byrons, Mortimers, and Bruces—besides those of equal lustre which are now only to be met with in the extinct baronage of England. The pleasure which I derived from my researches amidst this most interesting mass of deeds of the feudal and chivalric ages, I shall not soon forget: I went upon a tour of four weeks—I stayed as many months. . . .

The discovery of upwards of eighty charters, granted by the early De Rosels, was the result of this visit. The interest which my success naturally awakened, afterwards induced me to pursue their parentage beyond the conquest, through the Bertrands and the Turstains, to the times of the Norwegian Jarls; but as the history of this first race, however curious, might appear extraneous to many, it was not thought advisable to include it strictly

within the compass of the present volumes. I have therefore embodied their wild achievements in a few separate sheets, of which a limited number of copies only are struck off for those who may be interested in the annals of this remoter age.¹

The correspondence introduced is now, with but very few exceptions, for the first time given to the public. That of the first two Earls of Bedford has been selected carefully from a much larger body of letters, transcribed from the originals in the British Museum, and the Exchequer Record, and State-Paper Offices. They furnish much valuable, and some curious information connected with the important negotiations with which those noblemen were intrusted,—the one in Italy, with the celebrated Duke of Bourbon,—the other at the court, and on the borders of Scotland, during the troubles of the unhappy Queen of Scots. In depicting the events in Ireland whilst Sir William Russell was Lord Deputy, which have been almost entirely neglected by our chroniclers, I have been assisted by a plain but useful diary, in the hand-writing of his secretary, which is preserved at Woburn Abbey, and of which

¹ Historical Memoirs of the First Race, or Early Ancestry of the House of Russell, from the subjugation of Norway by Harold Harfagre, to the Norman Conquest. Printed uniform with the present work, in atlas 4to and royal 8vo, pp. 84. Longman and Co.

part of a duplicate appears also to exist in the Lambeth Library. I have not, therefore, thought it necessary to make many references in this part of the work ; but in every other portion, from the commencement to the close of these volumes, I have generally cited my authorities with the most scrupulous fidelity.

Amply and ably as the story of the great Lord Russell has already been commemorated by a living descendant, I could not avoid the attempt to reproduce it in the miniature compass to which I was necessarily restricted, as nothing could excuse the omission of a life so memorable—a career to which so many stirring recollections inseparably attach, and a death, the pathos of which can never grow old in the hearts of those, who feel that it is in no small degree through his sacrifices and sufferings that they inherit the inestimable privileges of civil and religious freedom. In approaching nearer to our own times, I was not insensible to the difficulty of giving a clear and an impartial statement of the real character and conduct of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, in the several high offices of state which he filled during the reigns of George the Second and his grandson. In fact, when the vast store of his public, his private, and his most secret correspondence, was unreservedly

consigned to my investigation, with only this golden recommendation from his existing representative,

————— “ Nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice,”—

I was filled with somewhat very like despair, from a sense of the impossibility of giving, within my narrow limits, even a suitable abstract of a life, the perfect illustration of which would require a volume. But, however imperfectly I may have accomplished this part of my undertaking, I resolved to apply to it with an honest, a candid, and investigating industry. Unprejudiced I was not: for, in common probably with most of the readers of Junius, I had learned to regard the public conduct of the Duke of Bedford with feelings almost amounting to aversion. But as I perused the papers which his prudence and industry had accumulated and preserved; and caught from the unstudied impressions of his head and heart, which he had traced in privacy, a clearer prospect of his aims and springs of action, my mind became gradually disabused of its delusion, and acquired, I trust, that degree of impartiality which enabled me to sketch the narrative of his political exertions with a pen untinctured either by the flattery to which he was often exposed from living friendship,

or the gall with which many of his powerful adversaries so unsparingly assailed him. That it is probable my memoir of him, imperfect as it is, may be of some utility, it would be affectation in me not to admit: for whilst the Duke of Bedford exercised an undoubted influence on many state affairs, during the reigns of George the Second and George the Third, no writer of the domestic annals of that period appears to have had access to his papers; and therefore the impressions made by his party, though not wholly overlooked, have been very imperfectly detailed. Lord Orford's intimate acquaintance with many of the duke's friends occasionally introduced him into a correct knowledge of his aims and motives; but in most instances this was still so imperfect, and so much perverted by his party prejudices, that he can scarcely be considered an exception to my remark. The desire of furnishing increased means to the reader of judging of his actual deserts as a minister and statesman, has led me to extend his biography much beyond my original intention; but I have still to regret the unavoidable omission of much illustrative correspondence, of equal interest and importance to that which has been introduced.

It remains for me to express my best acknow-

ledgments for the assistance which I have received in the prosecution of my work;—to the learned antiquaries, the Abbé de la Rue, M. de Gerville, and other Norman literati, who introduced me either to the public collections of their country, or to their own private stores; or who, during my stay in Normandy, gave me proofs of their hospitality and friendship which I never can forget.¹ To the Duke of Devonshire, for access to some of his family papers, my sincerest thanks are no less due, than to Sir Robert Peel, the Marquess of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Ripon, for the entrance which they secured for me to the State Paper, the Pipe, and the Exchequer Record Offices; to Mr. Caley, for his obliging permission to make researches in the last-mentioned office, which led to the discovery of numerous letters from Sir John Russell to Secretary Cromwell;—to Mr. Bailey, Keeper of the Tower Records; M. de Pradt, of the Bibliothéque du Roi at Paris, for the loan, from that collection, of the privately printed volume of the Comte de Turstein-Richebourg, relative to his ancestry; and lastly, to G. P. Harding, the artist, to whose gratuitous kindness I am indebted for the designs of the armorial bearings,² which will form,

¹ Vide "Farewell to Normandy;" Appendix XXIV.

² They are executed by Mr. Clennell and his son, a very young wood-engraver, of considerable promise. The arms are left unshaded, for the con-

it is presumed, an interesting, if not unique feature of the present work.

This work, with all its demerits or merits, I now dismiss from my hands, to undergo the same frank ordeal of opinion which I myself have exercised; and to receive, as I venture to hope, that candour which, in speaking of the actions and the characters of others, I have endeavoured to preserve. Though not indifferent to either censure or approval, the writer has no ambition to gratify, beyond that of leaving some memorials that neither his leisure nor his life have been mis-spent or unimproved.

From those who are habituated to make a strict analysis of sentiment on the prevailing fallacies relative to military practices, the unchristian tendency of which is not yet so generally unveiled, or so seriously considered, as it ought to be, I am not quite sure that I have not some indulgence to bespeak; for in narrating the events of history, it has been difficult not to speak of such things under their general acceptance; whilst I deem it personally a duty to assert, in its full force, the justice of the objections urged against them by an increasing number of conscientious and reflective minds. The next age will doubtless be prepared

venience of those who may wish to have the shields coloured, in which case they might be suitably consigned to the skilful care of the designer, Hercules Buildings, Lambeth.

to judge of these and various other subjects, less according to the magic influence of hoary custom, than by the purer principles of our common Christianity. Our statesmen and legislators will then be so truly enlightened as to allow to the Divine rules for all human government and conduct their proper place of right, above the shallow expedencies and the hollow maxims of the world, which have but too frequently actuated and guided them. At present, without giving the remark any specific application, there has not been either courage, faith, or purity enough for such a course. The iron and the clay in the feet of the prophetic image of empire, is an apt and instructive emblem of the brute force, or of the crumbling policies, which have been constantly employed by the governors of human kind, in every modern division of the old theatre of Roman domination. But it is consoling to believe that more solid principles are rapidly unfolding; and that under the momentous changes in society which are every where silently or obviously developing, the unchangeable spirit of Christianity, which, surmounting every prejudice, MUST ULTIMATELY BE REGNANT, is actively at work, in "the removing of those things which are (now) shaken, that the things which cannot be shaken may remain."

The line of ROGVALD from Suhm, *Histoire Critique du Danemarck*, *al. de la Maison de*
Toustain-Frontebosq. BERTRAND, from

ARMS: NORMANDY, *gules*, two leopards or lions passant guardé, *or*. HARCOURT,
 lozengy *or* and *gules*. BERTRAND, *or*, a lion rampant *vert*, s, 2 and 1, barry of
vair and *gules*. DU ROZEL, *argent*, a lion rampant *gules*, a "Montchenseye!"

Harald Hildditur, A.D. 735. SIGURD HRI

THROND, or HÆRK, K. OF TRONDHEIM =

EIST

Dagus, K. of Upper Hringa.

HALFDAN THE SWART.

Hringo.

Rolf Nefio.

HARALD, FIRST KING = ALFHILDA.
 OF NORWAY, A.D. 885.

2. HILDIR Turstain Rauda, or the R

ALOFA ARBOT = THORER, Jarl of Mære.

2. ROLLO, DUKE
 OF NORMANDY, A.D.

Dungad, = Groa.
 Jarl of
 Caithness.
 f the = GRELOTA.
 942.

BERGLIOTA = SIGURD, Jarl of Hlatha.

1. ... = JARL HAQUIN = 2. THORA, d. of Skage Skofteson,
 K. OF NORWAY, surnamed the Rich.
 A.D. 921-996.

1. K. ERIC = GUDA of
 Denmark.
 K. HAQUIN = THYRA.

1. Swein = Holmfrida of Sweden.
 2. Hemingur. 3. Erling.
 5. Ragnhilda = Skopte Skakeson.
 4. Bergliota = Einar Thamba-scelfur.

3. Lodver, K. Malc
 Jarl. of Scotla

JARL SIGURD = THORA

iers.

Jarl EINDRED.

Hugh Turstain = Barbe de Montfortagne. JARL ROGVALD
 died in duel A.D. 1036.

1. Robert Bertrand,
 Baron of Briquebec, A.D. 1060,
 founds the Priory of Beaumont-en-Auge.

3. William

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS,

ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN PERIOD TO THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A.D. 1066—1098.

Site of Le Rozel... Barneville... Origin of the Family of Russell... Their descent from the Bertrands and Turstains... Hugh, Lord of Le Rozel, witness to a deed of the Countess Matilda, before the Conquest, June 1066... At the Battle of Hastings, September 1066... Grants to him... His gift to the Abbey of St. Stephen, 1077... Takes the Cowl, 1080... Monastic evidences of him... Funeral of the Conqueror, 1087... Death of Hugh du Rozel... Fiefs of his sons in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire... Gift of Richard de Rosel... Exchange made by Hugh II. de Rosel... Roger du Rozel, second Lord of Barneville... Goes with his brother Hugh upon the first crusade, 1096... His valour at the siege of Nice, at the battles of Dorylæum, and of the Iron Bridge... Scales the walls of Antioch... Is slain by the Persians, and his death revenged by Tancred, 1098.

THE HOUSE OF RUSSELL derives its distinctive appellation from one of the fiefs which the first Chieftain of that surname possessed, anterior to the conquest of England, in Lower Normandy, in the ancient barony of Briquebec. The traveller who, in our times, directs his steps from the bourg of Briquebec towards the western coast of the department

of La Manche, after reaching, through scenes of quiet and secluded beauty, the heathy heights of Les Pieux,¹ looks down upon a valley in the face of the Atlantic, terminated at one extremity of the shore by the Pou, or Cape of Le Rozel; and on the other, above the little fort of Siotôt, by

¹ "Les Pieux is a wide and straggling village, or rather town; the Cartulary of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte specifying that a market was granted to it by King Henry II. The church is dedicated to St. Mary—*de Podiis*, as the charters term it, *Pieux* being simply the plural of *Pou*, a lofty headland; for the land around it lies extremely high, commanding a wide and glorious view of the vast blue ocean around Alderney and Jersey. The day on which we reached this interesting spot was clear and cloudless, and at noon we sat down upon the heathy bosom of the mountain that, at the height of probably five hundred feet, overlooks the vast Atlantic, the waves of which swept slowly in before the wind, curling with white foam, that well contrasted with the sapphire hemisphere of waters expanding before us. Whilst our eye was gratified with this, and with the distant view, to our left, of the hamlet of Le Rozel, half secreted amidst trees, the ear was no less solaced with the ceaseless roar of the billows, all distant and diminished as they were. With a caprice not uncommon when we have in our power some long-expected enjoyment, we held Le Rozel in reserve, until we should have explored a portion of the coast which M. de Gerville had recommended to our notice from its striking wildness, and directed our course northward towards Flamanville. The village is but poor and small: it contains, however, about 1200 inhabitants, as the villagers declared; and a handsome château rises near it, belonging to the Count de Sesmaisons. A half-hour's walk by the château brings us to the lofty and steep summit of the neighbouring cape, termed *Le Gros Nez*, whence a beautiful prospect is commanded of the bay and promontory of Jobourg to the north. The crags rise roughly and in huge disorder from the sea, that foams six hundred feet below, starting up, like the Druidic logan-stones of Cornwall, in the most fantastic forms, bare and naked of vegetation; and yet, as no steep is impervious to Norman industry, wherever a grassy slope presents itself, the rills, dripping from the rocks, are collected in a basin, around which either geese or sheep are seen to feed. At the top of the Gros Nez is a rude guard-house, where one lonely sentinel keeps perpetual watch against the smuggling vessels that might push into the creeks. Savage, and steep, and tremendous, however, as are the rocks, a winding path along their verge conducts the traveller to Le Rozel through scenes full of sublimity; the sea, as the tide sweeps in, beating the dark breakers at your feet, in a picturesque hurricane of foam. From their height and exposure to so vast a wilderness of waters, the coast here must be tremendous when the wind and sea mount high; and I can conceive nothing more magnificent

the imminent and lofty cliffs extending northwards towards Flamanville. In the centre of this valley, a mile's distance from the strand, is seen the little hamlet of Le Rozel, pleasantly embosomed in wood. The Bus, a rivulet not destitute of fame in the early charters of neighbouring monasteries,

than an autumnal night, during the equinox, spent there in a cavern which we found overhanging the loud ocean. Fast as we turned one huge cape, another opened on the view, leading frequently to the extreme brink of deep chasms, down which slipped silently the mountain springs, which the burning heat of the summer had left unconquered. The heat reflected from the granite was overpowering as an oven; and it would, therefore, be an act of ingratitude not to record my thanks to the Naiad of one of these bubbling little fountains, which fell into a small stone basin, paved with moss and water-herbs, clear as crystal, and sweet to the parched taste as nectar. After an hour's walk, the circling bay and Pou of Le Rozel came into the prospect. The latter rushes into the sea less roughly than the crags we left behind us; but its base is heaped with as picturesque a ledge of rocks. Nothing can be smoother or more level than the strand along the bay; and, on this account, Le Rozel might easily become the finest bathing place upon the coast. We approach the manor-house by a causeway on the side of the Bus. The streamlet, although narrow, flows along as pure as light, and is bordered with alders and luxuriant flags (*des roseaux*); which circumstance, in connexion with their surname, doubtless suggested to that branch of the family which, in 1204, did homage for the fief to Philip Augustus, the arms which they assumed: viz. *arg.* 3 green rushes, flowered *sable*, 2 and 1; as the descendants of the branch inheriting Rosel near Caen, who continued in Normandy, by a similar play upon the name, took *gules*, 3 roses *argent* 2 and 1.¹ Ascending the stream a little way towards Les Pieux, it is seen to flow from between gentle hills, alternately russet with heath, and clothed with trees of the most florid verdure, from which we hear the clacking of a distant mill, the same, probably, as that which Jordain Russell, Lord of Barneville, in his charter conferring the church of St. Peter du Rozel upon the priory of La Taille, in the twelfth century, describes as 'molendinum Buys' (*sur le Bus*), and upon which, in 1222, Lucia du Rozel, for the prayers of the church of Coutances, granted six quarters of flour annually to the canons there. The manor-house and farm have been occupied, for the last fifty years, by M. Villot, the mayor of the place, as steward to its possessor, Madame de Hannôt, who resides in Picardy. The estate produces to her 10,000 francs a-year."—*MS. Journal*.

¹ Chamillard, Nobilier de la Basse Normandie.

leads on, with a shallow murmur, amidst wooded hills, to this sequestered spot, and there passes to the sea, at the base of a slightly castellated mansion, which the antiquary is at once disposed to recognise as raised upon the site, where the first peculiar seigneurs of the territory had either their fixed or occasional residence. Standing on a small eminence, overhung with an old grove of oak and chestnut, with a small tower at the western angle, and surrounded by a wall, creneilled, and flanked with ivied buttresses, which, on the side fronting the sea, opens into an inner court, betwixt two round and half-dismantled towers,¹ the present building, though now used only as a rural grange, has still somewhat picturesque and knightly in its aspect. The name given, first to the cape, and afterwards to the castle and the family inhabiting it, appears to have been imposed by some of the early settlers in Neustria; *Le Rozel* implying, according to Roquefort,² a tower, or bold headland, by the water; from *Roz*, the rook or castle of the chessboard, and *el*, the synonyme for *eau*.

The family of the Du Rozels is said by some authorities to have been known under that surname so early as the year 1012;³ but as no charter has been discovered of any of its members earlier than 1066, there is some reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The castle and territory of *Le Rozel*, according to the author of the "Military History of the Bocains,"⁴ was a portion of their appanage, as a younger branch of the Bertrands, Barons of Briquebec; a house the head of which took the title of Sire, and first Banneret of the Bocage, being accounted second only in rank to the

¹ Vide Vignette at end of chap.

² Roquefort, Gloss. de la Lang. Rom.

³ Dubois, Dict. Univ. de la Nobl. de France.

⁴ M. Seguin, p. 121.





Barons of St. Sauveur, who successively enjoyed the style of Vicomtes of La Manche. M. Seguin has omitted to adduce, in his work, the exact source whence he derived a knowledge of the fact; but he has personally stated that this was a point clearly ascertained from uncontested charters, a vast number of which fell into his hands,¹ with the papers of M. le Franc, a Norman antiquary of the last century, who had been indulged with frequent access to the very ancient cartulary, or fief-book, of the barony,² before it was missing from the armory of the castle of Briquebec, where it used to be deposited, with the other title-deeds of the Bertrand

¹ “ J’ai vu M. Seguin, et je lui ai demandé d’où provenaient les renseignemens dont il s’était servi, pour dire dans son ouvrage, que les Du Rozel descendaient des Bertrand de Briquebec. Il m’a répondu, qu’il l’ignorait; qu’il avait eu en sa possession une grande quantité de copies de chartres et d’anciens titres, qui lui avaient fourni les matériaux de son histoire; qu’il était bien certain de l’exactitude des faits qui y étaient rapportés; mais qu’il ne se souvenait nullement d’où elles provenaient. Il pense que l’on pourrait trouver des renseignemens, à cet égard, auprès d’une dame de Montmorency, qui existe encore, et qui descend de la famille Matignon, dont les propriétés étaient immenses dans notre pays.” — *Lettre du M. le Normand, de Vire, Nov. 1, 1826.* My application to this lady for permission to make researches amidst her *ancient* title-deeds was fruitless: yet her steward at Briquebec permitted me to examine such papers as were remaining in the armory; apprising me, however, that the principal part of the records had been borne away by the Duchesse, his mistress, who was at that time engaged in a process with the inhabitants of several communes in the neighbourhood of St. Loo, relative to her right over some extensive marshes—that of Gorges amongst the rest. The terrier books, &c. that remained were altogether of a modern date; but I noticed an entry in one of them, that the ancient fief-book of which I was in quest, and which was there entitled “*COPIA CHARTARUM*,” had been missing for the last fifty years. On returning to M. de Gerville, at Valognes, I submitted to him the passage of Seguin, which is as follows:—“Cette famille illustre et puissante (les Bertrand de Briquebec) posséda un vaste territoire, où elle se divisa en plusieurs branches qui prirent le nom de leurs châteaux; entre lesquelles on distinguait celles Du Rozel, des Perques, de St. Pierre d’Allone, de Beaubigny, de Breuville, de Hardinvast, du Mesnil-Auvair, de Sottevast, de St. Paul-des-Sablons, de

² Ex relat. M. de Gerville.

family. His account derives every confirmation from the extent as well as nature of the grants which various members of the family of Du Rozel made, from the commencement to the close of the twelfth century—a power of alienation which, exercised as it often was over lands, vills, and ad-vowsons in the compass of the barony, can be explained upon no other ground than transmission by immediate descent: nor can the simple lion rampant, first borne by the Du Rozels on their shields, be regarded in any other light than as the heraldic coat of the Bertrands, varied, for distinction, by the omission of its argent crown, and by the change to *gules*

Sénonville, de St. Germain-des-Vaux, de Vauville, de Quetôt, de Surtainville, du Vretot, de Pierreville, de St. Germain-le-Gaillard, de Nègreville, de Brucheville, de Vasteville, de Magneville, et de Bloville.” Inquiring then of this eminent antiquary the authority upon which he himself has so far corroborated this statement, as to represent the Les Perques as a younger branch of the Bertrands (*Anciens Châteaux de Valognes*, p. 258), he apprised me that he had learnt the fact from his own personal examination of the baronial archives. In reply to my inquiry what arms they bore, he stated that all the younger branches which shot off from the Bertrand stock bore upon their banners, seals, and shields, the same arms as the parent House, which were *or*, a lion rampant *vert*, langued and unguled, and crowned *arg*. He instanced the Magnevilles, before they became earls of Essex. Subsequent research has enabled me to indicate the period when several of these younger branches diverged from the main stem. The seigneurs of Le Rozel, (as will soon appear), Magneville, and Vauville, existed under those surnames before the conquest of England. Geoffrey de Magneville accompanied the Conqueror on his expedition to England; William de Vauville the same, after witnessing, with William and Eudo, his sons, and Robert Bertrand, the Duke's first charter to St. Mary de Vœu, at Cherburg, about the year 1050. The Seigneur of Les Perques originated in the early part of the twelfth century, together with that of Sottevast; those of Nègreville, St. Pierre d'Allone, Surtainville, Pierreville, and Martinvast, in the middle of the same; and Baubigny towards the latter end. The abbey charters of Blanchland and St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, (*MSS. de Boze*, No. 1028), illustrate the family union and common interests that then subsisted amongst them all. Sottevast sprang from Magneville. Roger de Sottevast, before 1147, under Humphrey the Abbot, gave to the abbey of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte the church of St. Broelarius, in Jersey, with

from the *vert* of its old hereditary tincture, when the first peculiar chieftain of Le Rozel aspired to become the independent founder of a new House, that should transmit to other times its own illustrious surname. The rise of the Russell surname synchronises also with the first usage of heraldic arms; as the metrical chronicle of Wace, a most interesting relic of the feudal age, declares, that at the great battle of Val des Dunes, which occurred in 1047, there was not a baron or rich man amongst the combatants but had his banner or other ensign, to which his vassals might be rallied, and that there were amongst them both watch-words

its tithe, for the soul of Ralph, his father, who lay buried in the abbey. Afterwards, William de Magneville, "his brother," confirmed the grant, on the death of Symon de Marei, placing his charter on the altar.¹ Eudo de Sottevast, the supposed brother of Roger, lost ten acres at Tourville by wager of battle with William de Bricqueville.² Robert de Negreville was a witness the same year, in conjunction with Richard de Vauville, Leo his brother, and Jordan Rozel, Lord of Barneville, to an agreement between the abbots of St. Sauveur and Montbourg.³ St. Pierre d'Allone was then the appanage of Roger, surnamed also Des Moutiers, *De Monasteriis* (now Musters), who gave a moiety of its church to Blanchland Abbey.⁴ Robert de Surtainville gave the other moiety, and his grant was confirmed by William, Bishop of Coutances, in 1189;⁴ but Geoffrey de Surtainville witnessed, so early as 1156, a charter to St. Sauveur, of Richard, Bishop of Coutances, in conjunction with Robert Rozel, de Barneville, upon the day that the church of St. Peter, at Pierreville, was dedicated.⁵ Richard de Martinvast, another hamlet in the barony, about the same period, performed with the commonalty of Cherbourg the military service due from him to King Henry II., Duke of Normandy;⁶ and Robert de Baubigny, somewhat later in the century, gave the tithe of his land at Le Rozel to Blanchland Abbey.⁷ These are all so many proofs of the correctness of M. Seguin's position; and additional evidences might, if necessary, be furnished from other copies of charters in the author's possession.

¹ The original charter, penès me.

² Charta penès M. Francis Moore.

³ Titres de Blanchland, p. 36.

⁴ Id. p. 5.

⁵ Id. p. 66.

⁶ Lib. Rub. Scacc. t. i. p. 123.

⁷ Titres de Blanchland, p. 41.

and war-cries, and shields for cognisance painted with various devices.¹

The early Du Rozels did not, however, use that surname exclusively. In various donations, throughout the whole of the twelfth century, we find a succession of the members signing charters under the surname of De Barneville, which was probably the chief castle of their fief. In this they followed a frequent practice of those early feudal times, when the donor possessed various lordships, and was at unbiassed liberty to choose his own appellation, either from the particular castle where the charter happened to be executed, or from the superior fee of which the grant had formed a portion; or, finally, from the name of that which was most flattering to his fancy or ambition.² In the wars and troubles that distracted Normandy during the minority of Duke William, as well as under the reign of his successor William Rufus, the whole duchy, we are told by contemporary annalists, was filled with fortalices and castles — a circumstance that sufficiently accounts for the existence of fortified defences upon both the estates of the Du Rozels. That of Barneville is yet to be traced upon a mound to the east of the church where the calvaire, or crucifix, is placed. The mound, called formerly *Butte à Mallet*, was obviously once

¹ N'i a riche home ne baron,
Ki n'ait lez li son gonfanon,
U gonfanon u altre enseigne

U sa mesnie se restreigne,
Congnoissances u entre-sainz,
De plusors guises escuz painz.

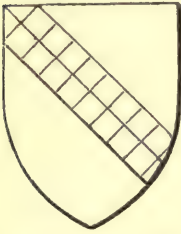
Roman de Rou, ii. p. 33.

² Thus, Baldwin, the first Earl of Devon, son of Gilbert Crespin, Earl of Brionne, used in his charters no fewer than six surnames. Sometimes he signed himself Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, sometimes Baldwin Vicecomes, and Baldwin de Devoniâ, as sheriff of that county; Baldwin de Excestre, from his chief castle at Exeter; and, more rarely, Baldwin de Brioniis and Baldwin de Mœlis. His eldest son Baldwin took again the surname of De Riveriis, and his second son that of De Vernon. — *Dug. Bar.* i. 254.



ARMS. I.

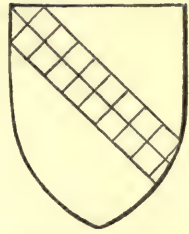
ANCIENT NORMANDY.



NORMANDY.



TURSTAIN.



ANC. NORM. *gules*, a bend compony counter-compony, *argent* and *azure*.

NORMANDY, *gules*, two leopards or lions passant guardant, *or*.

TURSTAIN, *or*, a bend compony counter-compony, *or* and *azure*.

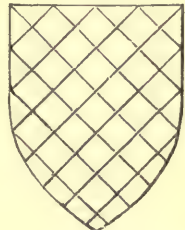
BLOIS & CHARTRES.



HUGH LUPUS.



HARCOURT.

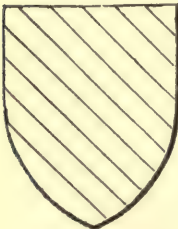


BLOIS AND CHARTRES, *azure*, a bend *argent*, coticed potencé contrepotencé, *or*.

HUGH LUPUS, *azure*, a wolf's head erased proper.

HARCOURT, lozengy *or* and *gules*.

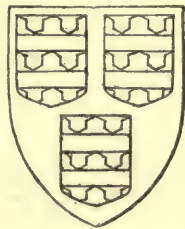
HUGH TURSTAIN.



BARBE DE MONTFORT.



MONTCHENSY.



HUGH TURSTAIN, bendy *or* and *azure*.

BARBE DE MONTFORT, *gules*, a saltire *or*.

MONTCHENSY, *or*, 3 escutcheons, 2 and 1, barry *vairé* and *gules*.

encircled by a fosse; but as the spot is little capable of a defence by water, it is probable that the original castle could not have long stood out against a hostile inroad. Barneville is stated to have derived its origin and name from Biörn, the celebrated Norse pirate, son of the younger Regner Lodbrog, and surnamed Côte-de-Fer, from a magic plate of metal which he was accustomed to wear at his right side, the only part of his body which, according to the popular belief, his mother, a Scandinavian enchantress, had not been able to render invulnerable.¹ It is certain that that warrior, scouring the coasts of La Manche in 845,² in his way to Bretagne, visited and laid waste Valognes, Bruchamp, Port-Paillart, and various other places in the environs of Barneville and Briquebec.³ He is thought to have afterwards fortified himself along the whole line of the Hague-Dyke, extending from Osmonville to Port-Paillart, situated over against Portbail and Carteret, which borders immediately upon Barneville;⁴ and the traces of this fortified encampment yet remain.

The Bertrand family were indisputably of the lineage of Rollo.⁵ The Count de Toustain-Richebourg, who has investigated the subject with considerable research and industry,⁶ represents them as springing from Drogo, or Dru, of Normandy, who appears to have been the same personage as

¹ Depping, Exp. Mar. des Norm. i. p. 125. ² Daru, Hist. de Bret. i. p. 204.

³ Normendie ont avironée,	Valuignes pristrent è wasterent,
E Brétagne tresqu'à la mée,	E par mal talent l'alumerent;
E de Costantin li cuntrées	Bruscham-port, Paillart, Monteborc,
Out destruites è desertées.	E li chaste! de Chieresborc.

Roman de Rou, i. pp. 19, 21.

⁴ Seguin, Mil. Hist. des Bocains, p. 72. Vire, 1816.

⁵ De Gerv. Mem. des Ant. de Norm. i. p. 247.

⁶ "Histoire de la Famille de Toustain-Frontebosc."

A.D. 912. Hrollagur, one of the brothers of the great Rollo,¹ the name being merely softened into Drogo in its passage from Norway into France.

When Rollo, in the year 912, proceeded to divide Normandy in fief amongst his followers, he seems to have allotted the northern district of La Manche, in which the bourg of Briquebec is now situated, to his brother Drogo. This personage took also the name or surname of Turstain, in memory of the supposed descent of his ancestry from Thor, the son of Odin,² although it is obvious that the real origin of his family is to be deduced from Sigurd Hring, king of Sweden in the year 735.³ By his wife, Ermina, Drogo Turstain left a son named Hrolf, or Robert,⁴ who, with great probability, may be identified as the potent baron, “*vir nobilis et præpotens Torstingus*,” that, in 960, gave certain lands to the Abbey of St. Wandrille, or Fontanelle, which Duke Richard I. sanctioned and confirmed.⁵ By Gerlotte his wife, daughter of Theobald, count of Blois and Chartres, Robert Turstain was the father of three distinguished sons—Anslech, baron of Briquebec; Onfroi, surnamed the Dane, in memory of his northern origin, the sire of Turstain-Goz, and ancestor of Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester; and William, ancestor of the Lords of Bec Crespin;⁶ all of whose signatures are stated to appear in a charter of the year 990 to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel.⁷

In the rebellion of Rioulf of St. Sauveur against William Longsword, in the year 933, Anslech, the baron of Briquebec, is mentioned by Wace as one of the three barons who alone remained faithful to the duke, by rendering him military

¹ Torfei Orcades, p. 18.

^{2 4 6 7} M. Toustain-Richebourg.

³ Suhm and Schoning. *Histoire du Danemarck*.

⁵ Neustria Pia, pp. 162, 3; and Mabillon, *Annal. Ben. an* 960.



service at the siege of Rouen.¹ And on the assassination of A.D. 933. this prince, he was appointed by the barons of Normandy and Bretagne, one of the three guardians to his son the young Duke Robert,² at a crisis which required a rare union of courage, firmness, and discretion, and fulfilled his trust, during that long and troublous minority, with infinite reputation to himself, and advantage to his country.

According to the opinion of an eminent Norman antiquary, it was in the time of Anslech, certainly not later, that the castle of Briquebec, which yet presents, with its moated towers and lofty ivied donjon, one of the most beautiful and picturesque ruins of La Manche, was first erected;³ as the military service which the baron's vassals were compelled to pay there, corresponds, in its severe and obsequious character, with what is known to have been generally imposed under Duke Richard the First—an abasement that, in the early part of the reign of his successor, was the cause of a formidable insurrection.⁴ From the ancient title-deeds of the barony, it appears that its vassals, however noble, or nearly allied to the possessor, were obliged, in succession, to maintain watch and ward, by night and by day, in peace and in war, at the gates of Briquebec Castle; to follow their lord to the chase, whenever it was his pleasure to summon them, and, in addition, to present themselves twice or thrice a year before him, to receive his farther orders.⁵

¹ HANLEK fu o Willame, è Bernart li Daneiz,
E Boton de Baex, Quens des Bessineiz;
Des Barons de sa terre n'out li Dus ke cest troiz.

Roman de Rou, i. p. 109.

² Id. p. 112.

³ M. de Gerville. MSS. observations.

⁴ For the curious particulars of this servile tumult, vide *Rom. de Rou*, i. p. 303.

⁵ M. de Gerville: Notes from the archives of the barony.

A.D. 955.

Anslech, baron of Briquebec, lived to witness the accession of Duke Richard II. At his death he left two sons; 1. Turstain, baron of Briquebec, lord of Bastembourg;¹ 2. Richard, denominated more generally Turstain Haralduc, or Halduc;² and a daughter, Ertemburga, who was married, in 955, to Torf de Harcourt, the son of Bernard the Dane,³ and who became the ancestress of the Harcourt family in England.⁴

Turstain de Bastembourg left issue: 1. William, baron of Briquebec; 2. Hugh cum Barbâ, so denominated from wearing his beard unshorn, which was not the regular practice of the Normans; and a daughter Gisela, who, during the government of Duke Richard II., engaged the affections of Giroye, lord of Montreuil and Echauffour, and became the mother of seven sons and four daughters, whence issued, says Ordericus, a race of hardy knights, who were the terror of the barbarians in Apulia, Syria, and Thrace. The name of William Bertrand occurs in the year 1023 to a charter of Duke Richard II., confirming to the abbey of Mont St. Michel, on the occasion of its being rebuilt, after a destruction by fire, all the deeds and privileges granted by his predecessors, and especially those of the Duchess Gunnora, his mother. In this document he is styled William, the son of Turstain; and his name is followed by that of "Hugh his brother," and their kinsman "Richard the Viscount" (of Avranches), as witnesses, with others, to the deed.⁵

Hugh Turstain the Bearded, about the year 1030, obtained, in marriage with the Lady Barbe de Montfort, the

¹ Duchesne, *Scrip. Norm.* p. 289. ² M. de Toustain-Richebourg, p. 32.

³ La Roque; *Maison de Harcourt.* Arms, Lozengy or and gules.

⁴ Vide Collins's *Peerage*, iv. p. 428. ⁵ Morice: *Hist. de Bret.* i. p. 450.



ARMS. II.

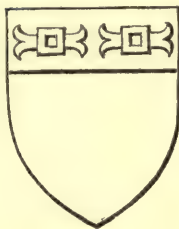
BERTRAND.



HUGH I. DU ROZEL.



DE BARNEVILLE.



RUSSELL.



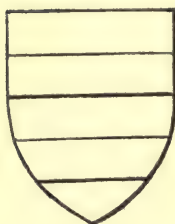
ROBERT DU ROZEL.



CARBONEL.



MAUVOISIN.



HAYE.



ROSELS OF NEWTON.



MORWICK.



DE BOVES.



MORTON.



town and territory of Montfort, in Upper Normandy, situated upon the little river Risle. He changed his paternal coat of arms for a shield, bearing Bendy *or* and *azure*; and after becoming the parent of two daughters and a son, a feud with Vauqueline de Ferrers, in 1036, terminated his existence. A.D. 1060.

The domains of William Bertrand formed a barony entire, with its own high, mesne, and petty courts of justice. It extended, with a few insulated exceptions, from Cherbourg westward to the Atlantic, and southward to the barony of Haie-de-Puits, which, before the time of Turstain Haldue, it may also have included in its compass. It comprised the various fiefs of Barneville and Magneville, La Haulle, Seno-ville and Vauville, Orglandres and Guernetot. And besides these seignories in La Manche, the fiefs of Bloville, St. Aubin, Tilly d'Orceau, Belval, and Fontenay, near Caen, were held of the Baron of Briquebec, and their lords came to him for justice, in cases of difference or dispute.¹

William, baron of Briquebec, was the first that took the surname of Bertrand, and with it the shield of arms, bearing *or* a lion rampant *vert*, langued and unguled *gules*, crowned *argent*.² He had issue three sons, Robert, Hugh, and William, and a daughter Emma, who was married to the Count of Montchenseye. Robert Bertrand, who is surnamed *Le Tort* in the "Roman de Rou," from his lameness, or some other personal defect, succeeded to the barony, and, about the year 1060, with his wife Susanna, founded the priory of Beaumont-en-Auge, in Upper Normandy, as a cell of St. Audoen of Rouen, and dedicated it to the Virgin. The grant of lands, &c. which he made in support of this foundation, bespeaks the extent of his possessions and the munificence

¹ De Gerville; MS. extracts from the archives of the Barony.

² La Roque; "Maison de Harcourt."

A.D. 1060. of his disposition; for by his charter he conceded the churches of St. Mary de Beaumont, Tilly, and St. George de Ficquefleury; those of St. George de Pennay, St. Mary des Vieux-Herbert, and St. Clodoale de Turgeville; the churches of Magneville, St. Mary d'Outretot, and Pierre de Surtainville, with thirty acres to each; two sheaves of the tithe of Briquebec, and thirty acres there; two parts respectively of the tithes of St. Regnobert de Fouguermon, St. John de Barneville, and St. Philbert des Champs; four pounds in St. Stephen de Honfleur; the entire tithe of all his forests, of Noiroles, Roths, Bretteville (near Haie-de-Puits), and Buscherville; the tithe of Bonnebose, and of the markets of Venoix; a tan-mill at Briquebec; and permission to have two horses in the woods of Tilly, to draw what wood the monks had need of, besides a beech tree at the four principal feasts of the year, Easter, Christmas, Pentecost, and the Assumption.¹

About the year 1050, as may be gathered from the Benedictines, Duke William falling ill at Cherbourg, and despairing of his life, made a vow, that if it would please God and St. Mary to restore him to health, he would build them each a church. On his recovery he accordingly raised two churches, one within and one without the castle; in which he placed certain canons; and dedicating the same to St. Mary of the Vow (de Voto, or de Vœu), endowed them with a quadrugate of land in Jersey. Robert Bertrand and Hugh de Montfort the Second both witnessed the foundation charter, in which the duke terms himself, "William the Sinner; by the grace of God, duke of the Normans."²

By the churchmen of that period, the assumption of such

¹ Seguin: *Hist. Archeolog. des Bocains*, p. 189.

² *Gallia Christiana*, p. 940; and *Instrumenta*, p. 229.

a title was deemed perfectly appropriate; for his marriage with the Countess Matilda of Flanders was within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and he was accordingly exposed to frequent menaces of excommunication. To silence their complaints, the duke sent an embassy to Rome in 1059. Considerations of state policy, which, in this instance, were also based on the desire of continuing peace between Normandy and Flanders, induced "the Apostle," as Wace, with great simplicity, terms Pope Nicholas the Second, to grant a dispensation, which permitted their continuance together; but, as the price of pardon, they were condemned to found two abbeys for the good of holy church, to which expiation the duke appears to have voluntarily added the promise of a hundred prebends.¹

With such industry did the noble pair apply themselves to the fulfilment of the task, that in 1066 the abbey of St. Trinity was completed, and its church was dedicated on the 18th of June of the same year. Robert Bertram and Hugh II. de Montfort both affixed their crosses as witnesses to the munificent foundation-charter which the countess executed that same day, and the former presented to the abbey two free-men and his tithe at Columbelles,² whilst his sister Emma, countess of Montchenseye, with his assent, for her own soul, relinquished all that she possessed in the

¹ The duke for peace, that God might give true pardon for his sin,
And that the Apostle might consent he should keep his near of kin,
A hundred prebends raised, to feed and robe a hundred poor,
The blind and weak to entertain, the maimed and sick to cure:
At Cherbourg and Bayeux, at Caen, and Rouen's hallowed hill,—
There are they to this hour—as then they stood, exist they still;
And next two abbeys they at Caen most richly did endow,
For the dark-veiled sisters one, and one where the hooded brothers bow.

WACE, vol. ii. p. 60.

² Cartulary of St. Trinity, p. 6 b.

A.D. 1066,
June 14.

same hamlet.¹ The first devotees who took the veil there, were daughters, wives, or sisters of the most distinguished Norman nobles. The duke, upon his part, presented Cecilia, his infant daughter, at the altar of the monastery, in which she afterwards became the second abbess. Amongst the other distinguished ladies who followed in this dedication of their age or beauty to the cloister, was Adelais Turstain, daughter of Turstain Halduc. She gave, by consent of Duke William, Ranulph vicomte of St. Sauveur, and her brother Eudo, her own moiety of the vill, the church, and tithe of Carpiquet, the other moiety having been already purchased of her brother and presented by the Countess Matilda. She farther bestowed two parts of the vill called Puteus, twenty acres between Fouquerolles and Hersterville; half a mill and a carucate in Coisnières;² the same quantity of land in Rusca-ville and in Calvaville; Fraxinville and Maisnil-Urcelai; the land held of her by Oismeline, the son of Theodoric, and

¹ Dedit etiā Emma, Comitisse de Monschans, Sce. Trinitati q'q'd habebat in eadē villā (de Colūbellis) p. salutē aīe sue, ipso Robto Bertūno, *fratre suo*, annuente.—*Cartulary of St. Trinity*, p. 6 b.

It was, in all probability, Rabel de Montchenseye who married Emma Bertrand; in which case it would be their son, Hubert, who was at the conquest of England, and had considerable possessions bestowed on him in Suffolk; vide "*Domesday Book*," ii. 436. In 1119, Hubert, son of Rabel de Montchenseye, gave by his charter, towards the foundation of the abbey of Troarn, the church of Montchenseye, and consented to hold his fee of St. Martin and the abbot; in token of which the latter gave him three sextaries of wheat, which, with the entire fee, he was to relinquish to them if he should ever take the cowl amongst them, or be buried in the abbey cemetery. Which grant was signed, amongst other witnesses, by his kinsman, Robert Bertram II.—*Cartulary of Troarn*, anno 1119.

² Whence the family of CONYERS. I have in my possession a fine seal, in green wax, of Roger de Conyers, of the time of King Stephen, with the device of a *manche*, in bold relief, surrounded by seven cross-crosslets, the hand holding a spear-head or fleur-de-lys; around which is the legend, + SIGILLUM : ROGERI : DE : CONNERIS.

Herbert Folenfant, in Gouberville, Dainouville, and Couvreville, and that by Anschetil in Ingouville.¹ The same ancient record commemorates the liberality of her cousin Gisela, the daughter of Turstain de Bastembourg, who devoted to the service of the abbey, for her own soul, all the land that she possessed in Gray and Dumville, by permission of her nephew, Hugh Turstain, lord of Montfort, of whose fee it was.²

2. HUGH BERTRAND, LORD OF LE ROZEL.

It was about this same period that the Du Rozel surname had its origin: and it occurs for the first time in the same monastic charter of the Countess Matilda, executed July 14, 1066, which commemorates the donations of Robert Bertrand and his sister Emma. "The Countess," says this record, "for twenty pounds and one golden mark, also bought of Waleran, son of Ralph the Moneychanger, and presented to the abbey of St. Trinity, thirty-one acres of land in Amanville, and a carucate at Caen, together with a mill, and the land held in fee by his brother Conan, the duke consenting to the gifts: and HUGH DU ROZEL, Ralph Fitz-Otver, and Gerald the Steward, were witnesses to the purchase."³ Now, if it be admitted that the castle of Le Rozel was the appanage of a younger branch of the Bertrands, (and the representation of M. Seguin, drawn from authentic, although unremembered records, is in perfect unison with all the evidence that can be brought to bear upon the subject, in the absence of the fief-book of the barony,) it will necessarily follow, that Hugh

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 659.

² Id. p. 660.

³ Gallia Christiana; *Instrumenta*, p. 60.

A.D. 1066. du Rozel had a common parent with Robert Bertrand, in the person of William, baron of Briquebec. And from the circumstance of his name being associated in the above transaction with that of the steward of the countess, it is not unlikely that he held some station in her household equally honourable with that of occasional cup-bearer to the king, which he sustained after the Conquest, in England. Under the style of Hugh de Barneville, he witnessed, about the year 1070, a charter of Matthew de Praëriis and Ralph his son, conceding certain lands in Guernsey to the abbey of Troarn.¹

Hugh du Rozel may have been born about the year 1021, and have been invested with the castles of Barneville and Le Rozel towards 1045, when fully capable of defending them with sword and shield; or otherwise, upon his marriage, or the death of the Baron of Briquebec. But, besides these fiefs, he had possessions in the isle of Guernsey as well as in Jersey, where a hamlet bearing his surname still exists. A third domain belonged to him in the neighbourhood of Caen, which took also the name of Rosel; and he enjoyed, of the favour of Duke William, other beneficiary lands at Grainville and Grouchy, in the same vicinity. To the completion of the abbey of St. Stephen, Hugh du Rozel appears to have reserved any grant which he might contemplate when the idea crossed his mind, as it may even then sometimes have done, of the peace to be secured in a monastic cell. Meanwhile, the great enterprise upon which the Duke of Normandy had now resolved, presented a temptation to his arms which, though neither greedy nor necessitous, he was probably, from his love of adventure,

¹ Cartulary of Troarn, p. 636, in Bur. de Prefect. at Caen.

little able to resist; so that gathering together, at the time A.D. 1066. of embarkation, in September, and ranging under his four sons, Roger, Hugh, Theobald, and Richard, his faithful vassals and retainers, he sailed with his prince and fellow-barons to Pevensey, and pitched his tent upon the celebrated field of Hastings.¹ William Bertrand, the third son of the late Baron of Briquebec, was also present in the conflict that ensued; and the Baron himself is particularly noted by Wace as having rendered great assistance to Duke William, on that memorable day.²

Until the recent publication of this writer's chronicle, the world could scarcely be said to have possessed a satisfactory account of the great battle of Hastings in any degree commensurate with its historical importance. The leading movements that influenced its result were, indeed, duly recorded; but few of those particulars were given which enable a reader to repossess the obscurity of centuries, and to gather in the mirror of his fancy, with life, and truth, and colour, a connected picture of the field of fight, or of the attitude and action of its most distinguished combatants. But the clerk of Caen, born in Jersey of a parent contemporary with it, flourishing himself within a century of the period when it occurred, gathering up for use every fact transmitted by his father, with every tradition known or sung by the wandering jongleurs of his time, and writing in the very language which was spoken by the heroes of the conquest, has given a description of the battle, equally valuable from its authenticity, and curious from the precision of its details; and in the

¹ He is indicated in the List of Brompton, p. 964, as the Sire of Barneville, and in that of Duchesne, p. 1125, as the Lord of Le Rozel.

² "Robert Bertram, ki esteit torz,

Mult i out homes par li morz."—T. ii, p. 248.

A.D. 1066. picture of his rude but often glowing verse, we are shewn, with every pomp of feudal circumstance, not merely the outward aspect, but the very spirit that pervaded the tremendous struggle.

The conquest of England was not completed by the battle of Hastings, decisive though it proved. In the various expeditions, west and north, across the country, which William or his barons undertook for its reduction, many acts of rapine and violence would occur over which humanity must weep. Such has been, in every age, the fate of a conquered people. But the writers who, from contemplating the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxons with an exclusive interest, would represent the cruelty of the Normans as exceeding all former cruelty,¹ surely forget, that if a more distinct picture be furnished of their excesses, it is referable solely to the number of historians who existed to commemorate them; and that the actions neither of Hengist nor Ida, if they had been transmitted to us by eye-witnesses, would afford, in any respect, a more engaging picture. The former massacred three hundred British nobles at a festal banquet; and the latter was known only to the Northumbrian Britons by the name of *Flamddwyn*, or the Destroyer. In the same manner merely as these adventurers had divided amongst their partisans "the good lands, and vessels, and abundant monies," which they won of the Britons by the battle-axe, did William proceed, only with a system more methodical, to appropriate to his followers the castles and broad manors of the Saxons, as fast as they fell to his disposal.

Setting aside the circumstances of his benefaction and retirement to the cloisters of St. Stephen's abbey, there is

¹ M. Thierry, *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*.

no evidence to assure us that Hugh du Rozel affected to A.D. 1066. be more disinterested than his associates, or that he was less tinctured with the haughty spirit of a Norman victor. But whilst lordships, towns, and manors, were lavishly bestowed by the Conqueror upon knights of all degrees, upon minstrels, huntsmen, and even varlets of the camp, it might, at first glance, seem a little singular that, under that surname, no mention of Hugh du Rozel is to be met with in the great fief-book of the kingdom. The relatives and kinsmen of the Lord of Barneville were all well requited for their military services: Robert Bertram had lands assigned him in Northumberland,¹ William Bertrand in Hampshire;² Hugh de Montfort received numerous manors in Essex, Norfolk, Kent, and Suffolk;³ and Geoffrey de Magnaville manors innumerable in various counties.⁴ It might hence be surmised that Hugh du Rozel was either amongst those who incurred William's displeasure, from their strong desire to revisit Normandy before he was firmly established on the throne of England,⁵ or of those who received their recompense in money; but the real cause of the omission is more suitably explained by the fact, that when the Domesday Book was compiled, in 1083-6, Hugh du Rozel had retired to a Norman abbey: and his sons, whether as capital or mesne proprietors of the beneficiary lands which they enjoyed, must have shared the fate of multitudes besides, whose surnames were suppressed by the writers employed in the Survey, but

¹ The barony of Bothall. He was the sire of William Bertram, who founded Brinkburn priory, in the reign of King Henry I. (*Dug. Bar.* i. 543), and ancestor of Sir Bertram, the celebrated *Hermit of Warkworth*.

² *Id.* vol. i. p. 47.

³ *Id.* i. p. 13; ii. pp. 52, 237, 405.

⁴ *Id.* vol. i. pp. 36, 62, 129 *b*, 139, 149 *b*, 159 *b*, 197, 227, 243 *b*; vol. ii. pp. 57, 411.

⁵ *Ord. Vit.* p. 512.

A.D. 1072. whose manors and baptismal names were unquestionably particularised in that general rent-roll. The obscurity arising from these causes is, however, partly dissipated by other ancient records. The Winton Domesday, compiled between 1107 and 1128, specifies various lands and houses at Winchester, of the king's demesne, which the son of Ralph Rosel, who was the grandson of Hugh du Rozel, yet continued to possess;¹ and in Dorsetshire the "*Testa de Nevill*" points out the manor of Kingston-Russell as having been held by the family *from the time of William the Bastard*, by grand serjeantry—the noblest kind of feudal tenure—upon condition of serving as the king's cup-bearer at Pentecost and on the king's birthday.² From the situation of these lands, it may be presumed that Hugh du Rozel was one of the knights who, after William's coronation, joined the expedition that was undertaken to extend the Conqueror's authority in the south-western counties, and that the donatives which he received followed these additional services.

In the exercise of his office as king's cup-bearer, Hugh du Rozel was, in all probability, present in the court held at Winchester in 1072, at the Easter festival, when the great cause respecting the primacy was agitated between the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Lanfranc, the personage who now held the former see, had been first nominated to preside over the abbey which Duke William had engaged to found at Caen. On his promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he transferred to William Bonne-âme, his

¹ Domesday Supplement, pp. 531, 532, 539, 540.

² "*Johñes Russel ten^t. Kingeston p. dim. hid. terre de dno. R. ex tempore Willi Bastard, quondā Regis Angl. p. serjantiā essendi Marescallus Butelerie dni Regis die natalis dni et ad Pentecosten.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 165.

successor in the abbacy, the completion of the abbey buildings. A.D. 1077.

These were at length finished in the year 1077; and in the course of the same year they were, with great solemnity, consecrated to St. Stephen, in the presence of the king and queen, the young princes, and an immense concourse of Norman and English nobility. William himself, attired in his robes of state, presented at the altar, on a silver salver, inlaid with certain Greek medals which his father had collected in his eastern pilgrimage, the rich foundation-charter, which, with the concurrent benefactions of his barons, invested those Benedictine brothers with a revenue so ample, that, in course of time, the taxes alone, for annates to the Roman see, amounted to a thousand golden florins.¹ This charter is still preserved amongst the archives of the prefecture of Caen; and in recording the gift of lands which were then made by Hugh du Rozel and his relatives, it indicates his intention soon to take the cowl.

“ I, Hugh de Rosel,” says the deed, “ by permission of the king, of my wife, and my son Hugh, deliver to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, the land which I hold, of the king’s bounty in Granville and Grouchy, on condition that the abbot and the monks receive me shortly of their order. As witness, Hugh my son, Ralph de Granville, Robert de Ros, and several others. And I, Robert Bertram, being at the point of death, deliver to the monastery, with the assent of my wife and children, whatever land I have in Bretteville l’Orgueilleux, and my share of its church; as witness, Durand de Dive, and William, son of Tetbald. I, Eudo, (cum Capello), not unmindful of the benefit conferred on me in sickness by the blessed Stephen, transfer to the same abbey my entire portion of the vill named Baltha; as Turgisius and Roger de Broei bear me witness: and I, Richard, son of Turstain (Goz), Viscount of Avrenches, that land of my domain which I possess in

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 626.

A.D. 1077. Ruscaville, of the fee of Turstain, son of Richard, who concedes it equally with me, in presence of King William ; and William Fitz-Osbern and Roger de Beaumont are our witnesses.”¹

To these donations of the kinsmen, as they were embodied in the charter, the names of the king and queen, and of the various bishops and barons who were present at the ceremony, were formally affixed. The respective donors of these grants succeeded ; and, in conjunction with Hugh de Montfort,—William Bertram and Hugh the son of Hugh de Rosel attested the deed in turn, by the only graphic means which the unlettered barons of that age possessed — the mark, with an ill-guided pen, of a rude cross upon the vellum.

It could not be long after this dedication of the abbey that the progenitor of the House of Russell joined the fraternity within its precincts. He was invested with the scapulary by Gislebert,² who succeeded to the abbacy in 1079, and, bidding adieu to his family and friends, devoted the remainder of his days to offices of piety. Monotonous and uncongenial as a monastic life may seem for a warrior to make choice of, it is not difficult to account for the desire which many of even the most distinguished families frequently manifested to embrace it. To men trained from the cradle to deeds of arms, and engaged, from the love of gold or glory, wherever a castle was to be besieged, or a yew-bow drawn, images of the peace and seclusion that attend religious retreats would alone, from the mere force of contrast, often press upon the fancy ; and Fancy, in moments of devotion, ever fond of colouring the future with tints not of the present, would again suggest the dedication to a gorgeous ceremonial worship as a happy termination to years of weariness and

¹ Appendix, No. I.

² Neustria Pia, p. 631.

conflict. Upon some, disappointment, upon some, remorse A.D. 1080. would prey; upon others, mere satiety with fortune and distinction, superstitious terror, or spiritual zeal; whilst the priesthood of the period, versed in all the maxims which the heads of the great spiritual apostacy had successively laid down for the attainment of universal authority and power, accommodated itself with a winning ease to the wishes and the wants of all, promising to every one whom it received into its number, expiation, honour, and perpetual bliss. How far the abandonment of the sword for the missal fulfilled the Lord of Barneville's expectations of repose, can only be surmised. The ancient cartulary of the abbey, now in possession of the Abbé de la Rue, contains a few notices of him after this renunciation of the world, in support of the interests of St. Stephen's abbey.

He was first a witness to the contract between Abbot Gislebert and Hugh Paganel, whereby the former remitted the ten pounds and two marks of silver due to him for the tithe of Ernald de Tilly, upon which there existed some demur; with the singular understanding, that if Norman, Ernald's nephew, should make any complaint, or shew a disposition to implead the abbot, the knight should give the youth no further countenance or counsel than the abbot himself might desire for a fair adjudication; but if the youth should clearly establish any right to the property, the money was to be returned, which was meanwhile delivered to Ingulf, the foreman of Paganel of Ansgotville, in presence of Durand Lorimer, of Caen, and Walter, the vassal of Paganel de Fontenay.¹

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's abbey. Charta, cxviii. p. 35 b. Copia penès me.

A.D. 1087. Secondly, he witnessed that Fulchered, on receiving in marriage the daughter of William Fitz-Arthur, became liegeman to the abbot, and, as such, received from him in fee the mansion of her father.¹ In a third transaction, Robert, the son of Richard Fitz-Tedald, partly gave to the monks, for the burial of his grandmother in the abbey cemetery, and partly sold, for eight pounds of the money of Rouen, the house which his father had possessed in the bourg St. Stephen, but of which he himself was then in seisin; with the agreement, that if his father should return, he would secure his assent to the concession: and for the fulfilment of this contract, Hugh du Rozel became surety, in connexion with William (Bertram) de Bretteville, Roger Grenon, and Nigel de Cambes, a sequestered hamlet near the city, bordering on Buron and Rosel.²

The deeds thus cited are without date; but as Gislebert died in 1101, they must have been executed in some year between his election and that period. In the peaceful uniformity that may have marked the last years of Hugh de Rosel, there would probably be little to affect or to disturb him; yet we may imagine the austerity of the anchoret giving place by turns to the tenderness of the friend and the pity of the soldier, when, in 1087, he joined the weeping brothers of his order, as they moved in procession to receive into the abbey-church the mortal remains of their munificent benefactor, the once potent conqueror of England.

Of all the feudal satellites who had received honours at the hands of William, not one was found, even amongst his nearer kindred, to concern himself with the royal obsequies.

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's abbey. Charta, cxl. p. 43. Copia penès me.

² Id. Charta, cxxxviii. p. 42 *b*. Id.

A stranger knight, named Hellouin, “ from pure good- nature,” we are told, “ and the love of God,” undertook the charge of removing the body from Rouen to Caen; and the monks of St. Stephen’s, joined by a few clerks and laymen, were his sole attendants to the grave. But all the circumstances of William’s life and death were destined to be remarkable. The procession was arrested in its progress by a sudden fire which broke out from a building on their way, and nearly consumed the whole city of Caen. Both clergy and laity flew to the extinction of the flames, leaving it solely to the monks of St. Stephen’s to complete the pious office. And upon the day of inhumation, the Bishop of Rouen had scarcely finished his address, and with sighs and tears desired the surrounding multitude to pray for the soul of the deceased, than one Asceline Fitz-Arthur stepped forth, exclaiming; that the ground on which they stood was his, as having been the site of his father’s house, of which the man for whom they prayed, when he was Duke of Normandy, had forcibly dispossessed him. The ground, therefore, he challenged for his own, and forbade the funeral of the spoiler from proceeding. The startled prelates listened with astonishment to his bold and singular demand; but ascertaining from the bystanders that his statement was correct, they proceeded with mild entreaties to appease his indignation, and purchased on the spot, for the sum of sixty shillings, the ground to which the kingly relics were at last consigned!¹

The date of Hugh du Rozel’s death is quite unknown; but after the blaze of incense, the requiescat, and the solemn chant, as we have heard them in the spacious aisles of the structure he endowed, his remains were, without doubt, in-

¹ Ord. Vitalis, p. 662.

A.D. 1087. terred at Caen, in the abbey of St. Stephen. He left four sons, Roger, Richard, Hugh, and Theobald; of whom Roger appears to have succeeded to the fiefs of Barneville and Le Rozel in La Manche; whilst the others inherited the rest of his Norman and English domains, including the estate of Rosel¹ near Caen. The church of this pleasant little hamlet, which we reach by way of Buron, anciently celebrated for its hawks,² and which stands in a little valley watered by the Mue, in the midst of bowers as beautiful as the eye can rest on, was doubtless built by the first Hugh, as from the Saxon windows of its tower it is clearly referable to the middle of the eleventh century; towards the close of which we find particular mention made of it in a charter that will shortly be recited. Hugh du Rozel, in variation of the Bertrand arms, bore *argent*, the lion rampant *gules*, uncrowned, with the addition of a chief *sable*; which arms we find ascribed to him in a descent drawn out by William Le Neve, York herald, preserved with the other archives of the Russells, dukes of Bedford.

ROGER DU ROZEL, LORD OF BARNEVILLE.

After the south-western provinces of England had been brought under the Conqueror's dominion, by the fall of Exeter in 1068, and the distribution of lands in Somerset and Gloucester, Roger du Rozel, lord of Barneville, and his brother, Hugh de Rosel, appear to have joined those ad-

¹ The possessors of this fee will constantly be indicated by the orthography here adopted; and so, *vice versâ*, those of Le Rozel.

² Le Prestre est nai de Normendye De ceulx de la Bigne et d'Aigneaux,
De quatre costez de lignye, Et de Clinchamp et de Buron,
Qui moult ont amé les oiseaux Yssit le prestre dont parlon.
Gace de la Bigne; *Roman des Oiseaux*. MS. of the 14th century.





venturers who sought to extend the conquest towards the north. By these the city of Oxford was besieged, Warwick and Leicester taken, and, lastly, Nottingham and Derby. Of those who were now recompensed for their martial services were Ernest, and his brother, Ralph de Buron, the ancestors of a family long since celebrated in story, and now immortalised by song. Upon Ralph de Buron, in the last two counties, five fair lordships, or manors, were conferred; and endeared to him by long acquaintance and community of martial toil, Hugh de Rosel was made a participant in his good fortune, being enfeoffed by him in lands at Ampton, Rempston, and Cotgrave, in Nottinghamshire, and Deneby in the county of Derby.¹ But Roger du Rozel attached himself to the fortunes of Robert de Bruis, and proceeded with him and other knights, after the fall of Lincoln and York, under the conduct of Duke William—who was not yet crowned—to drive the Anglo-Saxons from Durham and Northumberland. Such fellowships, contracted, as the terms went, “for loss and for gain, by faith and by oath,” if less frequently practised at the conquest of England than during times when the usages of chivalry engrafted a spirit of romantic generosity on the wilder virtues of the armed marauder, were by no means uncommon even then. And as the Norman castle of Bruis, situated on a romantic crag near Valognes, overlooking an extensive wilderness of wood, bordered on the barony of Briquebec, early associations may have had an equal influence with regard, in cementing this fraternity of arms between the two chieftains. In this northern enterprise, the insurgent Saxons were pursued as far as the great Roman wall; and

¹ Vide Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, pp. 30, 373 *a*; and the Cartulary of Rufford Priory, as per charters to be shortly cited.

A.D. 1078. the Conqueror, returning to York in triumph, made a bountiful division amongst the rest of his retainers, of the lands thus placed at his disposal. Robert de Bruis obtained for his share, says an old record, no fewer than a hundred manors, of which several lay in Yorkshire, which are indicated in the Domesday Book. Out of this ample harvest of the sword, he appears to have bestowed upon Roger de Barneville the manor of Newton in Cleveland, and various other lands in the vicinity of Drax and Giseburn, which his immediate descendants certainly possessed until the fourteenth century;¹ Aselby, with other manors, he probably obtained, by direct grant from the Conqueror himself.² Having thus acquired distinction and a settlement, the two brethren might be willing to sheath their swords for a season, and watch, at leisure, the progress which Raoul de Mortimer and Roger de Montgomery were making upon the Welsh borders, until the strong cities of Shrewsbury and Chester were reduced, and the conquest of England might be regarded as complete.

This transition from a state of active warfare to comparative security and peace enabled many to fulfil the vows which they had made in hours of peril to their patron saints, or to meditate such benefactions as might secure for them the orisons and favour of the church. The abbey of St. Stephen was in 1078 under the rule of William Bonne-âme; and, imitating the devotion of his father, Richard de Rosel, now piously bestowed upon the monks his church at Rosel, with the tithe, and seven acres of land belonging to it, as well as the house given them, on his permission, by Roger his priest; so that the abbot and monks might always have the church

¹ Cartulary of Giseburn Priory, and Register of Whitby Abbey. Donation MSS. Mus. Brit.

² Vide Placita de Quo Warranto, p. 188 *b*.

A.D.
1078-95.

under their jurisdiction, and place in it such a clerk as should assiduously perform his sacred duties.¹ And Hugh de Rosel, earnestly desirous to recover possession of the land conceded by his father, when received a monk into the abbey, repurchased it of the Abbot Gislebert by the gift in frankalmoigne of one virgate and the tithe of all his land at Rosel and Grouchy, with acknowledgment of homage for the investiture. The priest of Rosel being present at the agreement, was asked before Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Helgot, his archdeacon, if he had any claim for tithe, and answered in the negative. But that there might be no possible ground for dispute, the knight gave farther, by the bishop's consent, seven acres of his own peculiar demesne, and consented that the tithe should always be delivered at the storehouse of the tithing-man, that if any claim were made, it might be met upon the spot, and immediately acquitted.²

This deed of exchange, which is without date in the Cartulary, must have been executed before the time of the first crusade, as Odo, bishop of Bayeux, accompanied the Croises, and died in Palestine. The declaration of this "Holy War," at the council of Clermont in November 1095, operated, as is well known, upon the youth of western Europe like the sound of an inspiring trumpet. The two brothers, Hugh and Roger, embraced the cause with ardour, and hastened to receive upon their habits the consecrated cross. Upon the deeds which the former may have wrought in this romantic enterprise, the page of history is altogether silent. But his brother was more fortunate; and the monkish writers, who were eye-witnesses of his exploits, are eloquent in their praises of the Lord of Barneville. To aid, perhaps, in furnishing his

¹ Charta, Appendix II.² Id. Appendix III.

A.D. 1096. array for the voyage, he made over to the church, like many others, for a trifling valuation, a portion of his patrimonial inheritance, selling to the abbot of St. Stephen's, with the consent of his son Robert and the Duke of Normandy, the lordship of his fief at Rosel for the sum of 15*l*.¹ Joining then, with his brother Hugh, with his two sons, Robert and William, and a vast number of other knights from Normandy, Bretagne, and England, the banner of Duke Robert, he set forward in the month of September² for Palestine, by the route of Rome and Durezzo, which, wintering in Apulia, they did not reach till the April of 1097. Their journey through the mountain-passes of Bulgaria was difficult, but less disastrous than that of some other parties of crusaders. Over lonely and unpeopled wilds, they arrived at Thessalonica; thence traversing the milder valleys of Macedonia, through Lucretia and Chrysopolis, they reached Constantinople, and, taking up their residence in the suburbs of the city, employed themselves for fourteen days in satiating their curiosity amidst its splendid marvels.³ In the Blanchernal palace, De Barneville and the rest of the Duke of Normandy's retainers, did homage to the Emperor Alexius, and received for this acknowledgment the most expensive presents.⁴

The arms of the Croises were first directed against Nice, the capital of Roum, which, situated upon Lake Ascanius, fortified by double walls flanked from space to space by no fewer than three hundred towers, and protected by its sultan, Kilidge Anslan, the celebrated Soly-

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 636.

² Fulke de Chartres; in "Gesta Dei per Francos," p. 385.

³ Fulke de Chartres, p. 386. But the jealous emperor, as we learn from the same authority, would only permit five or six of the most potent Croises to enter the city at the same time.

⁴ Albert of Aix, p. 204.

man of Tasso, might seem to promise a long and vigorous A.D. 1097. defence. Invested on Ascension-day, the principal chivalry were placed upon the north, the east, and the west, the waters of the lake defending it upon the south. It was on the east, where the walls were strongest, that Roger de Barneville,¹ Duke Robert, Ralph de Guader, and Conan, earl of Brittany, took their station, with the Counts of Vermandois, Chartres, Flanders, and Toulouse. Whilst the confederate forces tried the first vain efforts of their wooden towers and rams upon the walls, the Sultan, hovering round them in the neighbouring mountains, planned that night descent on the besiegers which Tasso has celebrated with such pomp of verse, without, however, noticing the prowess of De Barneville, which the Latin historians of the crusade so glowingly describe.

It was about the third hour of the morning that the Sultan descended the mountains with his chivalry—fifty thousand Seljuks, armed lightly with breast-plates and Damascus cimeters, helmets and gilt shields, and mounted on swift horses trained to all the evolutions of the battle. Ten thousand archers, with their bows of horn and ivory, formed the vanguard of this force, which poured down upon the plain in two divisions; one directed to the camp of Godfrey, on the north and east; the other to the southern gate. In the midst of the rising tumult, Adhemar, bishop of Puy, is described as flying rapidly from rank to rank, encouraging the Christians, whom he termed the elect of heaven, with assurances, that as for the love of God they had left every thing that was dear to them on earth—their wealth, their vineyards, lands, and castles, they might go boldly against the enemy, confident of victory; and promising to such as should fall in the engagement the crown of martyrdom and a

¹ *Gesta Dei per Francos*; Archbishop Baldric, p. 95.

A.D. 1097. blessed immortality. And at this exhortation, Pain de Garland, steward to the King of France, Guy de Porsessa, Tancred, and the earl of Flanders, ROGER DE BARNEVILLE, and Robert, duke of Normandy, “rushed,” says Albert of Aix, “with lightning-like strokes, and the swiftness of war-horses,” into the midst of the Saracens, performing prodigies of valour, and finally repelling their assailants to the foot of the mountains whence they came.¹ Driven from the field with the slaughter of four thousand of his Turks, Kilidge Arslan renewed the struggle on the morrow; but being again defeated, he retired with the relics of his army to the mountains, and hasted, by fresh levies, to obtain the means of revenging his disgrace. The Croises, thus left at liberty, pushed the siege with vigour; and, on the 20th of June, 1097, the capital of Bithynia was in the hands of the crusaders.

Nine days after the capture of Nice, they pursued their march to Antioch, the army separating at Leuca into two divisions, and following in a parallel direction the course of two valleys, the better to procure subsistence. Roger de Barneville was in the weakest division, which took the left defile.² In advancing along the plain of Dorylæum, at a spot where the mountains closing in formed a valley, watered by a stream that falls into the Sangar, this division, upon the last day of June, was tempted, by the sultriness of the early morning and the verdure of the valley, to encamp beside the river. Scarcely, however, had the crusaders pitched their tents than the sound of arms was heard amongst the hills. They had no sooner fortified their baggage by a line

¹ Albert of Aix, p. 207. “Tancredus, . . . Guido etiam de Porsessa, et Rogerius de Barneville, celebrem sibi in eo negotio comparaverunt famam.”—*William, Archbishop of Tyre*, p. 668.

² Baldric, p. 97.

of cars between the river and a reedy marsh, and sent a messenger to apprise the other division of their danger, than the indefatigable Kilidge Arslan was upon them with 100,000 Turks and Arabs, who, on arriving within bow-shot, raised their Lillah shout, and discharged a cloud of arrows that wounded almost all the horses. De Barneville and his fellow-croises, having with them but few bowmen, hastened, lance in hand, to cross the river. The celebrated Robert, count of Paris, was the first that rushed upon the Turks; but after seeing forty of his bravest knights perish at his side, he was obliged to retire from the field mortally wounded by an arrow. The chroniclers are silent on the subject of his fair Brenhilda's fate; but as, upon the quivers of the Moslem being exhausted, the Soldan is stated to have crossed the river, and borne away for the seraglio the most beautiful of the women whom he found, it is possible that she might be of the number of the captives, notwithstanding the vigour of her arm, and the sharpness of her lance. If so, however, her captivity was but of short duration; for at the first news of the irruption, Bohemond detached a squadron, which, fetching a small compass, fell with so much fury on the Soldan's flank, as to compel him to abandon his captives, and repass the stream at every risk. His rage and vengeance for the disappointment were expended on the Norman knights, and amongst them the carnage became dreadful. Supported, however, by Roger de Barneville, Gerard de Gurnai, and the rest of his renowned knights, Robert, duke of Normandy, received the charge with unwavering firmness. Snatching the white standard from the hand of the bearer, and rallying the more dispersed and dispirited of his troops, with repeated shouts of "Diex il volt!" he rushed amidst the Turks, and striking right and left, sometimes with his sword, and some-

A.D. 1097.

A.D. 1097. times with his banner-staff, beat down the emirs that opposed his progress, and by his shouts, his cheers, and the vivacity of his attacks, restored the fortune of the fight, until Godfrey, at the head of the other division, arrived to close the sanguinary conflict. The Moslem left a vast number of their emirs slain, and no fewer than three thousand inferior commanders. Provision, armour, gold, silver, horses, and camels, which the western adventurers now, for the first time, beheld with admiration, were found in great profusion in the Turkish camp; and the victors, after chanting hymns of devout thanksgiving for their triumph, and devoting three days to the funeral obsequies of their slain friends, recommenced their march.

Their course to Antioch, a distance of five hundred miles from the valley of Gorgonia, through regions utterly laid waste by the Sultan, was marked with the greatest privation and distress. The hawks which, for their amusement, or to procure them some small prey in the Pisidian deserts, the knights had taken with them, perished on the fist of the falconer; the infant died upon its mother's breast; and many of the women, struck with a kind of frenzy from their intolerable sufferings, rolled upon the ground, with frantic cries for death, or silently succumbed to its advances.¹ Antiochetta at length opened its gates to their relief; the ridges of Mount Taurus were surmounted, after some repose; and the last formidable obstacle to their progress being removed by the fall of Calchidia, De Barneville and his companions left

¹ "Tunc autem verè vel rideretis vel forsitan pietate lachrymaremini, cum multi nostrùm jumentis egentes, quia de suis jam multa perdiderant, *verveces, capras, sues, canes*, de rebus suis, scilicet pannis vel panibus, seu quâlibet sarcinâ peregrinorum usui necessariâ onerabant; quarum bestiarum terga videbamus, mole fascis gravis, esse corrupta: equites, etiam supra boves cum armis suis interdum scandebant."—*Fulke of Chartres*, p. 388.

behind them the domains of Kilidge Arslan, and pressed forward with increasing ardour to the city of Antioch: their ardour was, however, tempered with more discretion than before. A.D. 1097.

To guard against the enemy's irruptions, and to clear from ambushments the woods and roads, the Duke of Normandy, with a chosen band of knights, preceded the main army. Of these, Roger de Barneville and Everard de Pusey, "soldiers," says Albert of Aix,¹ "renowned in all military business,"—"men," says William of Tyre, "noble, illustrious, and meritorious in the war of weapons,"² acted both as standard-bearers and commanders of the cavalry. In order to reach Antioch it was necessary to secure the passage of the Pharphar, or Orontes. This storied river was to be crossed by a bridge of nine arches, which, fortified by two strong towers, whose gates were covered with metal plates, was denominated the Iron Bridge. Upon the first news of the approach of the crusaders, the Emir of Antioch had sent hither a body of seven hundred horse to support the garrison in the two towers. Thus, when the Norman vanguard, under De Barneville and Pusey, reached the bridge, they found it resolutely guarded, and a long and bloody conflict took place for its possession. The assault proved fruitless, till a party of the Christians spurred their horses into the river, where the stream seemed fordable, and succeeded in repelling the enemy on the opposite bank. They then attacked the Turks upon the bridge, who, being at once assailed with such ardour from behind, and pressed repeatedly in front by the charges of Godfrey and Bohemond, Roger de Barneville,³ and the Norman duke, at length gave way, and fled to Antioch by the defiles and

¹ Albert of Aix, p. 226. ² William of Tyre, p. 685. ³ Albert of Aix, p. 227.

A.D. 1097. mountain-passes. The main army then passed the river, and the next day, being the 11th of November, reached the city. Tancred first took up his station in the quarter towards Altalon, overspread with shrubs and fruit-trees, which the pioneers soon levelled. Next to him Roger de Barneville encamped;¹ then the other chiefs, as they respectively arrived; and thus the whole city was at once invested.

The siege furnished opportunities for fresh distinction to De Barneville, which his active heroism did not suffer him to lose. He was specially assiduous during its continuance in ambushes against the enemy; and from the slaughter of his sword, no less than from being frequently employed as a negotiator in every embassy for the ransom or exchange of prisoners, obtained amongst the Turks themselves the highest meed of honour and renown.² He was accordingly amongst the foremost of the chieftains whom the chroniclers cite as being employed in the difficult emergency when the Emir of Antioch, having implored succours of all the Mussulman princes of the East, planned a sally from the city by night to favour their descent. And when at length the city yielded, not indeed to the valour, but to the stratagems of the crusaders, and Phirouz the Armenian renegade lowered, from the towers which he and his two brothers were set to guard, the ladders by which they were to be won, Roger de Barneville was third in the escalade, being preceded only by Fulke de Chartres and the Earl of Flanders.³ Geoffrey Parented mounted after him; Bohemond and others followed them in

¹ Albert of Aix, p. 227. But he is here termed Robert.

² "*Fama quidem ejus apud Turcos omnes antecessit, et libenter eum videre et audire solebant, quod cum Christianis agebant, aut in restitutione utrinque captivorum, aut cum aliquando pacem inter se componebant.*"—*Albert*, p. 248.

³ *L'Esprit des Croisades*, tom. iv. p. 204.

silence; and long before dawn, posterns were opened in the walls, through which, amidst tumultuous cries of “*Deus lo vult!*” the whole soldiery swarmed in, and raised their banners on the battlements, the 3d of June, 1098. A.D. 1098.

This was the last successful exploit of a warrior “the most illustrious—the most beloved of all.”¹ He expired under the walls of Antioch; and the circumstances of his death were as peculiar as his life had been heroic. The Croises had not been two days in possession of their new acquisition when they were called upon to maintain it against a host of 300,000 men, which the Sultan of Persia had levied, and placed under the direction of Kerboga, emir of Mosul. To them the unconquerable Kilidge Arslan joined the remnant of his broken forces. Three hundred Turkish archers, mounted on the swiftest horses, bearing purple banners, preceded the main army, thirty of whom, as they drew near the city, consisting of such as were most experienced in battle and skilful in equestrian manœuvres, galloped forward to the walls, provoking an attack, whilst the rest formed themselves into an ambuscade in an adjacent valley. On presenting themselves before the city, and harassing with their arrows the soldiers on the walls, Roger de Barneville, in that spirit of prompt chivalry which was considered the peculiar ornament of a faithful follower of the cross, put on his coat of mail, leaped hastily to horse, and, with fifteen associates, ambitious to signalise himself by some illustrious action,² issued from the gates. The moment they appeared, the Turks fled across the plain, and were chased at full speed by the brave De Barneville. No sooner, however, had he reached the valley than he found himself and his little band at fearful odds, in danger of being instantly surrounded by the rising squadron,

¹ Raymond de Agiles, p. 151.

² Albert of Aix, p. 248.

A.D. 1098. which it would have been madness to oppose. He accordingly turned his horse, and attempted with all speed to regain the city. He had nearly crossed the shallows of the Pharphar, when he was transfixed by a Turkish arrow, in sight of the numerous spectators who had lined the walls to observe the skirmish. The arrow pierced him in a vital part; he slipped from his saddle, and expired. His pursuers then alighted; severing his head from his body, they fixed it on a spear, and in barbaric triumph bore the trophy to Kerboga. The gift would naturally be received with joy by him, who, stern, ferocious, breathing nothing but slaughter and despite against the Franks, and arrogant in the opinion of his own valour, is thought to have served Tasso for the model of his terrible Argantes.¹ The death of so renowned a leader filled the Persians with confidence, and the Christians with consternation; under the influence of which, the former, in their first attack upon the city, succeeded in entering the barbican. There, however, they were gallantly withstood, and beaten back by Bohemond and Tancred. Tancred, with the generous ardour that marked all his actions, charged himself with the mournful duty of revenging his slain friend; and six elevated spears, each crowned with the head of a Saracen whom he had vanquished, and now bore back with him into the city for the consolation of the people, attested at once his indignation and regret.² The body of De Barneville was recovered by the Croises, and carried by them into Antioch, "weeping as they went," says Albert of Aix, "and mournfully lamenting for the fall of one of the bravest of the people—one who had ever been vigilant in ambush and active in the battle, and whose illustrious actions were more in number than the pen can suitably record."³ In the porch of the church of

¹ *L'Esprit des Croisades.* ² Albert, p. 249. William of Tyre, p. 715.

³ Albert, p. 248.

St. Peter the Apostle, attended by the Christian princes, the whole hierarchy and people, this bravest soldier was magnificently interred; and with prayers and solemn hymns "his soul was commended to the Lord Christ, for whose love and in whose honour he became an exile, and scrupled not to die."¹ These interesting accounts of De Barneville's heroism, and the general sorrow manifested at his death, are confirmed by William, archbishop of Tyre, who entitles him "a man to be perpetually lamented, as one who had most faithfully contributed all in his power to the success of the holy expedition."² Tasso, in his muster of the Christian forces, justly speaks of him as being numbered amongst the most illustrious of the army,—

"Ruggier di Balnavilla infra gli egregj

La vecchia fama, ed Engerlan ripone."—Canto I. st. 54.

and in the license of his charming verse introduces him before Jerusalem, where he is made to fall by the hands of the Persian Tissaphernes.

¹ William of Tyre, p. 714.

² Id. p. 713.



Ancient Gateway of the Château of Le Rozel.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE FIRST CRUSADE TO THE
ACCESSION OF KING STEPHEN, &c.

A.D. 1098–1169.

Lineage of the Du Rozels, lords of Barneville and Le Rozel on the coast... Of Esington, Aselby, and Neuton... Their monastic transactions and individual grants... Lords of Rosel near Caen; Theobald de Rosel, 1109... Hugh II. de Rosel; witnesses various abbey deeds, 1100–48... Marries the Lady de Boves... His charter to Rufford abbey, 1155... His longevity, 1161, and sepulchre... Memorials of his offspring: Josceline, 1177; Hameline, 1171; Nicholas, 1184... Early notices of Ralph de Rosel, ancestor of the Rosels of Cotgrave and Radcliffe, 1128–56... His charters to Rufford abbey... Philippa, Lady of Rosel... Her several charters to the priory of Plessis-Grimoult, 1165; and to the abbeys of Mont St. Michel, 1176; Savigny, 1177; and Ardenne... Her marriage connexions... Lineage of Patry... Robert Patry in arms against King Henry II.; is taken in the Tower of Dol, 1173... Ralph de Hamars... Lineage of Clinchamp... Hugh de Clinchamp, 1200–21... Death and sepulture of Philippa de Rosel.

A.D. 1098. ROGER DU ROZEL, Lord of Barneville, left four sons;—
1. William; 2. Roger; 3. Robert; and, 4. Walter; of each of whom various memorials remain;¹ but it is in the stem of his brother Hugh, lord of Rosel near Caen, that the main current of our narrative continues. It was probably in token

¹ LINEAGE OF THE DU ROZELS, LORDS OF BARNEVILLE, &c.

I. 1. WILLIAM DE BARNEVILLE.

William de Barneville, as has been already noticed, accompanied his father into Syria, bearing thither, or on his return, a shield *argent*, upon a chief *gules*, 2 mill-bars *or*;² and the title-deeds of the monasteries of La Manche make frequent mention of

² Du Moulin, Hist. de Norm.; App. p. 3.

of his return as a victorious palmer from Jerusalem, that A.D. 1099. Hugh de Rosel added to the lion of his father's shield the three escallop-shells which are borne by his descendants.¹ Shortly after his return, and before the death of William

him subsequently. Under the name of WILLIAM DU ROZEL, he witnessed a charter of King Henry I., whilst duke of Normandy, executed on the 19th of March, 1161, at the castle of Rouen, confirming to the abbey of Fontenay the gifts of Jordan Tesson ;² a charter to the abbey of Savigny, granted by Robert Fitz-Peter and Petronille his lady, giving a bushel of wheat and the tenement of Gilbert de Londa at Criselon ;³ and two others to Troarn — one of William Fitz-William de Ausgville, confirming, with the consent of Hadevise his mother, whatever his father possessed in the church of Airan, and conceding, for twelve pounds of Anjou money, two sheaves of his own tithe and the tenement of Girard at Airan ;⁴ the other of Robert Fitz-Herveis, who gave to its monks, in the presence of William Marmion and Ralph Travers, the church and advowson of St. Sanson.⁵ Lastly, he witnessed, with his kinsman Hugh, the son of Hugh de Rosel, a deed of Roger Chievre to the abbey of St. Mary du Val, hereafter to be cited ; and by charter to the same monastery, in the year 1135, he himself conceded, with his son, a canon there, half his portion of the land of Grandon, half the wood held by William de la Nœe, ten acres and two sheaves of his tithe at Trene, with two of his homagers and one bordage in the same ville : and this he did with the permission of his son Robert and his own wife, of whose marriage-portion, therefore, it would seem to be.⁶ In this charter he is styled William du Rozel of Boniveel, which was a town or territory in the isle of Jersey.

Under the name of WILLIAM DE BARNEVILLE, he also wit-

¹ It appears, by a pedigree in the Herald's Office, that the shells were borne by Robert de Rosel, the son of Hugh the Second, so early as the tenth year of King Henry I.

² Neustria Pia, p. 80.

³ Cartul. of Savigny. Charta 54.

⁴ Cartul. of Troarn, p. iiiix. xxv. b.

⁵ Cartul. of Troarn, p. cxiv. b.

⁶ Copy from the MSS. of the Abbé de la Rue.

A.D. 1140. Rufus, certain lands which he held of Richard de Rollos in Normandy, were given by that baron to the abbey of St. Trinity, at Caen, with the agreement that Hugh de Rosel was to render to the abbey a bushel of wheat annually; and

nessed two charters, in the time of King Henry I.; the one, of Ralph de Haye, confirming to the abbey of St. Sauveur the churches, tithes, and rents in Jersey, given by his father, and bestowing in La Haye-Luthumière a certain little dwelling, with the church dedicated to St. Peter;¹ the other, of Turstain, archbishop of York, founding the priory of Kirkham.² He himself is stated, in the cartulary of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, to have benignly conceded to the monks there the strand D'Ectôt,³ near his castle. Besides Robert the canon, of whom no other trace exists, he had three sons: 1. Jordan; 2. Pain; and, 3. Richard.

1. The first, under the name of JORDAN RUSSELL, witnessed a deed of William Avenel, seneschal of Morton, testifying that Ralph Rufaut, for his love of the church, and six pounds Anjou money, had quit-claimed to the monks of Savigny the lands presented to them by Richard, and Mary the daughter of Ruellan the Illegitimate.⁴ But it is under his other surname that the rest of his transactions are announced. In England, he signed with a cross the foundation-charter of William, earl of Morton, to the priory of Montacute, on which occasion he gave to the monks there Lugar, near Stoch, in Devonshire.⁵ In Normandy, he witnessed an agreement between Walter, abbot of Montbourg, and Hugh, abbot of St. Sauveur, relative to the church of St. Peter de Fontenay-sur-l'Orne, which had been granted by Richard de Vauville and Leo his brother. This occurred in 1140, in the presence of Algar, bishop of Coutances; but his own munificent benefactions to the

¹ Titres de St. Sauveur, p. 69. MSS. de Boze.

² Dug. Mon. 1st edition, vol. ii. p. 106 a.

³ Cartul. of St. Sauveur, p. 20.

⁴ Cartul. of Savigny, fol. xxviiiⁱⁱⁱ a.

⁵ Dug. Mon. 1st ed. vol. ii. p. 670. B. 52. That he held other lands there also is obvious, from the Testa de Neville, p. 1996: "Jurdan' Russel ten' in Worthi (Devon) 8 ptem 1 f' de Will. Briwere."

if this were at any time omitted, the abbess was authorised A.D. 1140: to take the lands into her own keeping, till the rent were paid.¹ To nearly the same period may be referred the signatures to two deeds of Theobald his brother. By the

Norman monasteries are without date, as is generally to be observed with charters executed in the reign of Stephen.

To the abbey of Lessay he enlarged the donations of his ancestors, giving, by permission of his parents, an entire fee and one vavassour in Britteville; whilst Robert Bertram confirmed to the same sanctuary the alms of Sottevast, his kinsman.² To St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte he gave, in conjunction with his daughters Eleanor and Nicolaa, in perpetual alms, the tithe of all their land in the parish of St. Martin de Goe, near Carteret, whatever of that church was of their fee, and all that had been presented by the knights his feudatories.³ To the same abbey he gave the brine-pool, with its attendant, at Barneville; the strand d'Esquetôt, as it was conceded by his father William; and, in addition thereto, for the weal of his own soul and that of Lady Aaliza his wife, their ancestors and heirs, the strand in his demesne between Ectôt and the land of Weak-aid, together with five acres in the parish of St. Mary d'Esquetôt, between the two great dykes or fosses.⁴ On Blanchland abbey, by as many separate charters, he bestowed two sheaves of the tithe upon his fee of Ranville, three virgates of land in the same place, five more at Nobleville, a manse at Newburgh, and an acre towards Carteret.⁵ But the crowning act of his devotional munificence was his foundation of the priory of La Taille, near Barneville, and his gift of it to the abbey of St. Mary de Vœu. His charter of endowment has been rescued from oblivion by the antiquarian industry of M. de Gerville; and it is the more deserving of transcription here, as the priory itself has been over-

¹ Appendix I.

² Gall. Christ., *Instrumenta*.

³ Cartul. Savig. p. xlix.

⁴ Cartulary of St. Sauveur, p. 49.

⁵ List of Title-deeds of Blanchland Abbey, as made by Brother Thomas in 1271. MSS. de Boze, No. 1027.

A.D. 1150. first, Tetboldus de Rosel witnesses that Robert de Siccaville has given certain tithe to God, and St. Stephen's of Caen; in consideration whereof the Abbot Eudo and his monks had extended to him and his family their communion, a portion

looked by all writers on the Norman abbeys, not even excepting the Benedictine brothers.

“ Be it known to all men, in present as well as in future times, to whom this writing may come, that I, JORDAN DE BARNEVILLE, have given and conceded, in perpetual alms, to God and the blessed Mary de Vœu, near Cherbourg, the site of La Taille, with the appendages herein described. In the first place, the churches of St. Mary d'Esquetôt and St. Peter du Rozel, with all their appurtenances, and the grove and lands adjacent to La Taille, from the brook Bus, namely, unto Allix wood, and from the cross above the wood of La Taille to the brow of the opposite hill; whatever I possess in the street of Barneville, and, near it, the half-acre held by Dodeman; the brine-pool that was let to Ernald of the Bridge; and an acre in my fee which Constantine Dastin held. To this I add three virgates near the mill of Croiselles; five quarters of wheat at Ranville annually; the mead above the bridge called Gosselin; half an acre near the mill of Bus; two at Newburgh; three virgates near Grandpré; one acre below the bridge, one virgate of which is meadow-land; and three others near the same place, fallow fields. In the parish of Esquetôt, six houses, occupied respectively by Stephen Calvin, Hugh de Croix, Geoffrey de Marish, William Roste, William de Senoville, and William Plantin, with all the land of which I was in seisin in La Lande-Falaise; three acres of land, of as many shillings rent, now occupied by William Guilbert and his son; the land situated near them; the whole territory beyond Platbois, which has been held by Helin; the water-duct Tinault; the land of the Merchant, near the street; the tithe of the mill of Platbois; an acre rented by Hugh de Croix for 12*d.*; and certain lands at Barneville which Robert Payne now holds—a half-acre, namely, below the house of William le Chevalier, a half-acre before the mill de Buys, at Le

of all their spiritual benefits, and, over and above this generosity, fifty shillings of the money of Rouen, in charity or mercy.¹ By the second, he gives his testimony to the grant by Richard Gafeth to the same fraternity, of the twelve acres

A.D. 1150.

Tôt near the mere, a virgate and a half, and below the house of Le Chevalier a virgate and two perches. And that these donations, for the support of the prior and convent serving God at La Taille, may remain for ever inviolate and unshaken, I have thought fit to confirm the present deed with the impression of my seal, under the inspection of William, chaplain of Senoville, and Richard de Bois, priest, and William de Magnaville, Nicholas Goscelin, and Roger de Senoville, knights, as witnesses thereto."²

The charter is without date; but from other monastic deeds to which the names of two of the witnesses are affixed, it may be judged to have been executed about 1150. One Richard was the first appointed prior: his name occurs as witness to a charter of Richard, bishop of Coutances, executed in 1156, to Blanchland abbey.³ Jordan, lord of Barneville, lived to see Normandy subdued by Philip Augustus, to whom, in 1204, he vowed allegiance.⁴ In the fief-book of that king, under the name of Jordan Russell, he is noted to be bound, for lands held of the Honour of Mortain, to furnish the ward of one knight one day at the castle, and afterwards ward with the commonalty of Mortain.⁵ By his lady, Aaliza, he left four daughters, Eleanor, Nicholaa, and two whose names are unknown to us. At a sitting of the Norman barons in échiquier, at Falaise, in 1216, it was adjudged, that the two sisters of Alianore de Barneville, deceased, who were at the disposal of the king, might enter upon the inheritance derived from her, with due reservation of the right of the third sister, then in England, if she should return under the jurisdiction of King Philip.⁶ He is thought

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's. MSS. de la Rue, p. 55 b. Charta 163.

² Appendix II.

³ Titres de Blanchl. MSS. de Boze.

⁴ Duchesne, *Scriptores*, p. 1047 b.

⁵ Duchesne, *Scriptores*, p. 1047 b.

⁶ Stat. Scac. Norm., p. 116. Bibl. du Roi. MS. 9484, No. 3.

A.D.
1185-88.

at Allemagne, which the abbot formerly held of him in pledge for forty shillings, money of Caen, and the third part of the tithe of his six acres in the parish of St. Mary, with one cottager holding two acres at Itium; remitting also every

also, by Desbois,¹ to have left a son named Leo, a squire of Queen Blanche, the mother of St. Louis; but the document just cited forbids this supposition, and induces us to consider Leo rather as his nephew, the son of Richard de Barneville, his brother. Nothing farther is known of his four daughters.

I. 2. PAIN DE BARNEVILLE occurs once as a witness in the same instrument with his brother Jordan to the priory of Montacute, in Somerset;² but he, in all probability, died before that chieftain, leaving his other brother Richard the lineal successor to the lordship.

I. 3. The first mention that is made of RICHARD DE BARNEVILLE is under the style of "Richard, son of William de Barneville," as witness to a charter executed some time between 1185 and 1188, by Elias de Agnis, with the consent of his two sons, Thomas and William, giving to Hugh II., abbot of St. Sauveur, for a monkship in the abbey whenever he should require it, the church of St. Mary de Hulme, with all its appurtenances.³

Under the surname of DU ROZEL, he witnessed, somewhat later, a charter of Richard Silvan, conferring on the monks of Savigny a tenement at Martigny;⁴ in 1203 he swore fealty to Philip Augustus;⁵ and in 1210 sat as assessor at the abbey-grange of Savigny, in a cause brought before the abbot, by Rudo Goufil, against Lambert Acrochenué and his three sons, for the murder of his daughter.⁶ At Easter, in 1207, at a sitting of barons in échiquier, at Falaise, it was adjudged that Richard de Barneville should not render homage for his inheritance, till the son of Robert

¹ Dict. de la Nobl., *mot* Rosel.

² Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 670. B. 52.

³ Titres de St. Sauveur, p. 28. MSS.
de Boze, No. 1028.

⁴ Cartulary of Savigny, p. 30 *b*.

⁵ Duchesne, Norm. Scriptores,
p. 1047 *b*.

⁶ Cartulary of Savigny. Charta 122.

claim which he might have upon the church. All this, the A.D. 1120. donor says, next to his regard for God and his own soul, he does to the effect that he may be supplied by the church with vesture and victual until death, and that he may, at

Bertram, by the close of his minority, should be in a condition to guarantee the seisin of it.¹ By his charter, without date, he gave to Blanchland abbey a certain tenement and house at Barneville.² The name of his lady is unknown. He had a son, Richard, who, by the cartulary of Savigny, appears to have been living in 1254; and whose grandson, of the same name, is noted, in the private genealogies preserved in the king's library at Paris, as having been proprietor of the *Serjeanterie* to which he has bequeathed the name of Roussel. He lived in the time of Robert, count d'Artois, lord of Domfront, and died in 1348; and the French herald has brought down his offspring to the commencement of the eighteenth century.³

II. ROBERT DU ROZEL.

Robert du Rozel, the second son of Roger de Barneville, after consenting to his father's transfer of lands at Rosel, to the abbey of St. Stephen, gave, about the year 1120, to the abbey of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, with the consent of Hadusa his lady, and Ralph and Mauvoisin his sons, the tithe of all his land in the parish of St. Mary des Pieux, for the souls of all their ancestors, and that of Ralph Carbonel, the father of his lady;⁴ which donation was attested by Roger, the founder, grandson of the celebrated

* Arms; *argent*, 3 rushes *proper*, flowered *sable*.

¹ Statuta Scacc. Norm. anno 1207 usque 1284. Bib. du Roi. MS. No. 9484, p. 116.

² Titres de Blanchland, p. 22.

³ MSS. in cartoons, Bib. du Roi; art. *Roussel*.

⁴ The foundation charter, *penès me*. This interesting document was presented to me by M. de Gerville. It

embodies a great number and variety of benefactions granted by the immediate relatives and connexions of the Du Rozels. The following branches of the Bertrand family figure in it:—Osmund de Briquebec, Robert du Rozel, Robert de Magnaville, Roger de Sottevast, and William de Magnaville, his brother: (*fr' ej'*).

A.D. 1106. the point of death, if he request it, be invested with the habit of the order, and be honourably interred as a brother and benefactor.¹

At some period between 1100 and 1106, Hugh de Rosel

Nigel, baron of St. Sauveur.² About 1122, he witnessed a charter of Hameline de Exclusa, giving to St. Vitalis, abbot of Savigny, lands at Montclare and Champ-Urseit, all his tolls at Fulgers, and pannage for the abbey swine.³ With Walter his brother, he witnessed a charter of Hugh de Montenay to Mont St. Michel, giving, for the soul of his father, who had been anathematised, and for his own reconciliation with the church, for the monks to build a manse, his house with two gardens, a grass-plot, and the tithe of three estates.⁴ And, lastly, under the name of ROBERT DU ROZEL, he, with Robert, abbot of Furness, Robert de Agnis, and others, witnessed a charter of William Bacon to the abbey of Savigny, confirming, for the weal of his sire, himself, his wife Clementia, and brother Simon, the grants of Roger his father in Croisville—the church, namely, of Platbois, with five bushels of corn, and various tenements of his subsidiary knights.⁵

But, under the synonyme of ROBERT DE BARNEVILLE, he gave certain lands to St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, when his brother Roger entered the abbey as a monk; a grant which Roger de Osusville at the same time confirmed.⁶ And he was a witness, with various other knights, to the charter which William the Monk, son of Richard de Ausgerville, placed upon the sacred altar of the abbey of St. Sauveur, by which he conceded to the fraternity his own house at Barbefluet; the tithe of all his corn, flesh, fish, and other victual; a mark of silver annually for bread, until he should dispose of other lands for their advantage; and a hundred shillings rent, for raiment, on his lands in England, with the assent of Thomas de Beaumont, his nephew, who placed the offering on the altar.⁷

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's. MSS. de la Rue, p. 56 b. Charta 167.

² Cartul. Savig. Charta 122.

³ Cart. Mons. S. Mich. fol. lxiv.

⁵ Cart. Sav. Charta 78 in *Episc. Baioc.*

⁶ Titres de St. Sauveur. MSS. de Boze, No. 1028, p. 126.

⁷ Id. p. 111. Vide also App. VI.

* Arms; *azure*, a chevron *or*, between 3 silver bezants.

witnessed, with Richard, bishop of Bayeux, and others, King A.D. 1135. Henry the First's confirmatory charter of the gift of Richard de Grainville to St. Stephen's, when he there became a monk.¹ In 1135, Roger de Chievre made a grant to the

ELOISA DU ROZEL.

Of Ralph, his son, but little more transpires: it is probable that he died young. His daughter Eloisa, who then became sole heiress to his estates, was married to Robert Mauvoisin, the other son mentioned in the grant already cited. This personage is thought to have deduced his lineage from those counts of the Vexin who held the lordships of Calvimonte and Mantes.² In 1070, Ralph Malvoisin had given to the monks of St. Evroult his tithe of Ulmey, by charter dated from his castle of Mantes:³ he was, moreover, a principal chieftain in the celebrated maraud of 1087 into Normandy, which so strongly roused the Conqueror's resentment, and which, in conjunction with the taunt of Philip of France, had led to the summer expedition against Mantes, that ended in his mortal hurt.⁴ Guibald Mauvoisin, his son, the brother of Odelina, wife to the renowned Ansold de Mauley, took a distinguished part in the Norman wars against King Henry the First, under the rebellious banner of the Counts of Montfort and of Mellent: it was this daring chieftain whom the husband of Eloisa du Rozel claimed for his father. The eldest of his numerous brothers was that Guido, lord of Rosny on the Seine, who figures so frequently in the charters of the priory of Rosny.⁵ The earliest notices of himself are of a monastic nature also. He witnessed, first, a charter of Juliana, daughter of Roger de Percy, giving to the abbey of St. Sauveur all her marriage-portion in the land of Dumo-Torneor, with the consent of her brother Robert and his four sons⁶—a grant confirmed

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's, Charta xcvi.

² Neustria Pia, p. 603.

⁵ Neustria Pia, p. 604.

³ Ordericus Vitalis, p. 604.

⁶ Thomas, Michael, Nicholas, and

⁴ Id. p. 654.

Richard.

* Arms; *or*, 2 bars *gules*.

A.D. 1135. church of St. Mary du Val, in the diocese of Evreux, of twenty acres of land at Canville, with ten sextaries in millage and two of wheat from his mill d'Elbot, his wife Petronilla and son William consenting to the gift. To this grant Hugh

by Letitia, lady of St. Sauveur, in 1181;¹ second, a charter of Jordan the clerk, son of Jordan Tesson, giving to the same endowment twenty shillings of the money of Anjou, in his church of Epiney;² third, a charter of Robert Dens-crassus, the clerk, giving to St. Mary du Val the advowson of St. Hilary de Rou-Fougères, which William de Rosel, his kinsman, attested also.³ Under the name of MAUVOISIN DE LINTHARE, he gave and confirmed to Blanchland abbey the land of Roger Griffin, as well as certain lands beyond the Bus, appropriated to the templars: under that of MAUVOISIN DU ROZEL, a sextary of wheat in the parish of St. Paul du Rozel, a certain tenement in Guernsey, lands in the parish of St. Germain-le-Gaillart, and vavassours at Moinqueville and Vretot. The last appropriation I find confirmed by Richard Bertrand upwards of eighty years afterwards, in 1283.⁴

Robert Mauvoisin was present, in 1201, at the delivery of the great charter by his brother Guido, to the monks of Rosny, renouncing, "over the head of St. Quérine the Martyr," various liberties and lands in the town of Rosny;⁵ and about the same time he himself gave, with his mother Aaline, and his brothers Ralph and William, his assent to the charter of his brother Guy, conceding to the monks of Bec, for a *douceur* of £20, freedom from all toll at Mantes and Rosny, when their barks passed down the Seine with wine and victual.⁶ Such is his monastic story; but it was rather by his bravery in battle that he had founded his pretensions to the hand of Eloise du Rozel. His first lessons of arms were doubtless practised in the wars under his father Guibald, and he was no passive spectator of the struggle for Normandy between the kings of France and England. Siding with Philip

^{1 2} Titres de St. Sauveur, p. 97.

⁴ Titres de Blanchland, pp. 30, 39,
40, 52, 62, 71.

³ MSS. de M. l'Abbé de la Rue.

⁵ Neustria Pia, p. 604.

⁶ Id. p. 491.

de Rosel testifies,¹ with his nephew William, Gosceline de A.D. 1135.
Pomeray, and his four sons, Henry, Roger, Philip, and
Gosceline; a family deducing its origin from La Pommeraye,
a picturesque hamlet near Pont d'Ouilly, on the D'Orne, to

Augustus, he did willing homage to that monarch for the fief of
Le Rozel;² and when his native land presented no farther laurels
for him to reap, he sought them on a foreign soil: for when the fifth
crusade was preached by Fulke de Neuilly, he received with en-
thusiasm the sanguine cross upon his shoulder, and with Simon
and Guy de Montfort joined the expedition. After securing
the assistance of the Venetians and their doge, the celebrated
"blind old Dandolo," the crusaders diverged, as is well known,
from the first object of their vows, and proceeded to the siege and
sack of Zara, in Sclavonia. After the plunder of this city, the
young Byzantine Alexius, son of the dethroned Isaac Angelus,
presented himself before the Croises as a suppliant, and studied to
engage their sympathy and services by the strongest appeals to
their interests and ambition. He urged on them the glory that
would be theirs in conquering the city of the great Constantine,
the troops that Greece might then pour forth to the succour of the
Sepulchre, and the tribute of eternal praise that Christendom
would pay to their heroic virtue, when, as he predicted, the eastern
church should be subjected to the western, and the long religious
feuds be composed by which the apostolic Roman empire had been
dislocated. They listened and assented; but in the midst of their
preparations, Pope Innocent stepped in, and deeming his pre-
rogatives infringed upon in their unlicensed consultation, issued
his angry ban against the meditated expedition. The greater part
of the mailed barons treated with indifference or disdain his
arrogant commands; but there were some, even of the most

¹ MSS. de la Rue.

² Which he is stated to have held
by knight-service, of the castle of
Briquebec. "Robertus Malvoisin
tenet inde (de Briquebec) Roizel, per

| *servicium dimidii feodi.*" Liber Feo-
dorum, in Lib. Nig. Constant. (*de*
Coutances), penès M. de Gerville.

A.D. 1135. whose ancestor the Conqueror gave sixty manors in Devonshire, amongst which was that of Bury Pomeroy, where the castle of their residence was fixed. From similar evidences, it appears that Hugh de Rosel had possessions in Guernsey,

eminent amongst them, who, in dread of the thunder of the pontiff, instantly abandoned the design. Of the knights who thus, in the words of the warrior-scribe Villehardouin,¹ brought evil on the common enterprise and dishonour on themselves, were the noted Simon de Montfort and Robert Mauvoisin.² They passed to the service of the King of Hungary, and thereby lost the splendid prizes which the other Croises won, when Constantinople, in the following year, became the prey of the adventurers, and the wealth and productions of every climate of the East were lavished at their feet.³ But the proud Pope Innocent sought to console them for their obedience, and conferred upon De Montfort the entire domains of the good Count Raymond of Toulouse, who had excited his fury by daring to interpose his shield of protection between the papal fulminations and the devoted Albigenses. The earldom, however, yet remained to be conquered by the sword; and Robert Mauvoisin was induced to assist De Montfort in his claim, by the promise of sharing in the conqueror's good fortunes. He embarked, therefore, in the enterprise; and as his deeds are commemorated by the Catholic historian of the Albigenses,⁴ he must, we fear, be prominently classed with the military persecutors whom the papal Apostacy called up from the gloom of the blind ages, to wage its war with that seed of the true church in the spiritual wilderness, which the apocalyptic seer foresaw in his mysterious vision. He seems to have perished in that fierce crusade; yet, in all probability, the fame he had acquired in it inspired his brother Ralph

¹ An admirable translation of this interesting old chronicler has recently been published by W. Pickering.

² Villehardouin, p. 50.

³ "For it is the belief of me, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, marshal of

Champagne, that the plunder of the city exceeded all that had been witnessed since the creation of the world."

—Id. p. 110.

⁴ *Historia Albigensium*, cap. 29, 59, quoted in *Neustria Pia*, p. 604.

and that he gave five acres of his land at Glatigny, in A.D. 1135. Carentan, to the priory of Plessis Grimould;¹ a structure celebrated for the wild legend of its origin, now standing, an isolated ruin on the heath, but for whose monastic history

to run the same career; for, in 1219, we find the latter stating, in a charter giving to the monks of Rosny the tithe of his meadow at Espinay, that he was about to depart to the region of the Albigenes.²

Robert Mauvoisin appears to have left one daughter, Lucia, who is more than once styled Lady of Le Rozel. She married Hugh de Haye, and, in conjunction with him, granted the following charter to the abbey of St. Sauveur:—

“To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing may come, Hugh de Haye and Lucia his wife wish health! Be it known to your community, that William Mauvoisin has given, in perpetual alms, and conceded in his will to the monks of St. Sauveur, a mina of wheat upon Vinderel fee at Le Rozel, to be annually rendered at the feast of St. Michael, together with the judicial right of enforcing it, if it be withheld. This donation I, the said Hugh, and Lucia my wife, the heir of William Mauvoisin,³ concede, no less than the power of securing it, if it should ever be withheld. And that the gift may be for ever good, I have affixed my seal to the present charter, in the presence of Master Philip de Roque, Peter de Rauville, Jeffrey de Priestville, Robert de Clamorgan, and many others.”⁴

We find the Lady Lucy a widow in 1222. “This year,” says the ecclesiastical historian of Coutances,⁵ with great simplicity, “was a happy one indeed for the church of Coutances! Lucia du Rozel, widow of Sir Hugh de Haye, for the weal of her soul and that of her late husband, gave five quarters of wheat to be

¹ See Charters of Philippa de Rosel, pp. 70, 74.

² Neustria Pia, p. 604.

³ One of the four brothers of Robert. See, in Neustria Pia, p. 490, his charter, executed in the isle over against Rosny, called Spinosa (Espiney), giving to the monks of Bec free passage of the Seine at Mantes and Rosny, witnessed by Adeline his

mother, and Manasser and Peter, his brothers, the latter of whom distinguished himself in the battle of Bo-vines.

⁴ Cart. S. Salvat. p. 83 a.

⁵ M. Billy, Hist. Ecc. du Diocèse de Coutances; in MSS. penès M. de Gerville, p. 237.

* Arms; *gules*, 3 *escutcheons argent*.

A.D. 1135. the most ample materials exist in its beautiful cartulary, fortunately consigned to the archives of the Préfecture at Caen, before the desolation of the priory by the Black Band of the French revolution.

annually rendered from her mill at Le Rozel, at the octaves of Easter, for distribution to the canons and poor clerks of the choir who may attend the obituary service for her late lord, which is celebrated the fifth day after the feast of St. Nicholas, in May; of which gift the canons are to have two parts, and the clerks the third: the fourth is to be appropriated for the wax-lights of the great altar, and the lord bishop is to have jurisdiction over the granary of the mill, with full power to take the grain, in case it is not rendered.¹

III. ROGER DU ROZEL, *LORD OF ESINGTON*.

Roger du Rozel, a third son of Roger de Barneville, had his settlement in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where, as one of the military retainers of Robert de Bruce, he enjoyed the vill of Esington, amongst his other heritable lands. He is cited as one of those warriors rendering military service to that noted chieftain, who, about the year 1109, witnessed a charter of Alain de Percy to the monks of Whitby abbey;² and in 1129, when his capital lord, De Bruce, founded the priory of Gisburn, he gave to that establishment an oxgang of his land at Esington.³ He finally became a monk in the abbey of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte;⁴ and his domains appear to have descended to his nephew Roger, one of the three sons of his brother Walter.

IV. WALTER DE ROSELS, *LORD OF ASELBY AND NEWTON*.

Whilst Roger du Rozel succeeded to the lands round Esington, his brother Walter, in whose branch the family surname assumed a distinctive orthography of its own, enjoyed the lordships of Aselby

¹ Billy, *Hist. Ecc. du Diocèse de Coutances*, p. 237; in MSS. penès M. de Gerville.

² Charlton's *Whitby Abbey*, p. 64.

³ *Dug. Mon.* 1st ed. vol. ii. p. 147 *b*.

⁴ *Titres de St. Sauveur*, p. 126.

In England, the very ancient cartulary of Garendon, in A.D. 1135. Leicestershire, founded in 1133, contains yet more distinct traces of him. Herein he is seen to witness, 1, Roger de Burun's confirmation to God and the monks of St. Mary's

and Neuton. About the year 1150, he gave, in perpetual alms, to St. Michael's hospital at York, a toft, with one acre of land, for the weal of his soul and those of all his ancestors;¹ and, somewhat later, he witnessed a feoffment in fee-simple of Thomas Mauduit to Geoffrey de Craucumbe, for his homage and good service.² A mansion of his at St. Loo, in Normandy, is spoken of in a deed dated August 5, 1174, when Reginald, bishop of Bath, consecrated a certain church at St. Loo "to the blessed martyr Thomas (à Becket), archbishop of Canterbury."³ He left three sons: 1. Stephen; 2. Reginald; and, 3. Roger; transmitting, for their usage, the shield of arms which he had assumed; viz. *or*, a chevron *azure* between 3 red roses, as we find them borne by his descendant, Geoffrey de Rosels, in the next century.

2. REGINALD de Rosels flourished in the reigns of Richard the First, King John, and Henry the Third. Of the monastic transactions in which his presence is attested, it is impossible to give even an abstract, as it occurs in no fewer than five-and-fifty charters to the priory of Gisburn only.⁴ By his own charter of agreement made with Whitby abbey, he quit-claimed to the abbot Peter all the rights which he had assumed in the chapel of Aselby, and free passage for ever over his bridge across the Eske; for which grace the abbot assoilzied him and all his ancestors of all their transgressions or faults against the convent, received them as participants in the advantage of its prayers; and as long as he and his heirs should possess the vill and mill of Aselby, agreed to let out to them, at a rent of three shillings per annum, the lake or pool upon the convent land; which was, however, to be so managed as to do no damage to the abbey mills upon the stream, to which

¹ Whitby Regist. Brit. Mus. p. 187 b.

² Madox, Form. Angl. p. 186.

³ Gall. Christ. Inst. p. 241.

⁴ Gisburn Cartul. pp. 134a, &c.

A.D. 1135. of all that they possess of his fee in Costock and Rempstone, according to the agreements made with Robert Fitz-Andrew and his son Roger ;¹ 2, the concession of Ralph de Cortingstoke—four oxgangs of land in the field of Rempstone, with

covenant both parties set their seals.² He witnessed, in 1210, a charter of Joanna, daughter of Reginald Arundel, giving lands at Risewarp, in her widowhood, to the monks of Whitby ;³ a grant of John, the son of Hugh de Haton, giving to the same community the land and services of one of his homagers ;⁴ and, lastly, a deed of William de Bernaldby, granting pasturage for sixty sheep, and other cattle, to Lowcross hospital.⁵ He had one daughter, named Agnes, whose lands are incidentally mentioned in the Gisburn cartulary.⁶

3. ROGER de Rosels, for the weal of himself, his ancestors, and Adam de Bruce, his lord, confirmed and amplified his father's grant to St. Michael's hospital, and gave the patronage of his church at Esington to the monks of Gisburn.⁷ The Norman lands of the Lord Roger du Rozel are spoken of in a charter to the abbey du Val, of John, lord of Cormeilles in 1190.⁸ About 1207, he witnessed a deed of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, confirming a charter of King John, when Earl of Morton, of the chapel of Blythe to St. Mary of Rouen.⁹ It is probable that he left no offspring, as, in attesting a charter to Gisburn abbey, he terms Adam his brother, his heir.¹⁰

STEPHEN DE ROSELS.

1. Stephen de Rosels, with the assent and by the counsel of Isabel his lady, gave to Whitby abbey, by his charter, an oxgang of land, and a toft and croft in Liverton, as well as that other bovate which was held of him by Allan the Miller, and the croft and toft that

¹ Cartulary in the Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MSS. No. 415, p. 5 a.

² Whitby Register, p. 41 b.

³ Charlton's Whitby Abbey, page 150.

⁴ Id. p. 190.

⁵ Burton's Mon. Ebor. p. 358.

⁶ Gisburn Cartulary, p. 176 a.

⁷ Id. p. 309.

⁸ Collect. M. Abbé de la Rue.

⁹ Dug. Mon. vol. iv. p. 624.

¹⁰ Gisburn Cartul. p. 215 b.

all their appurtenances and fixtures, the lands which the monks held of him within the fosses of their grange at Costock, and two selions near the court-yard of the grange.¹ A.D. 1135.

In a third deed to the same abbey, he attests the gift of

lay near the close of William Fitz-Theobald.² The same parties, by another deed, given in the chapter-house at Whitby, resigned for ever to the monks that tenement in Liverton which the convent had hitherto but rented of them, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists that they would observe the deed inviolably.³ The knight, moreover, signed upwards of sixty charters, three of which bear the dates of 1218, 1223, and 1244, to the priory of Gisburn,⁴ to the mill whereof he gave a valuable salt-mine, on condition of the prior's rendering to him and his heirs annually two baskets of the salt.⁵ He had three sons, William, Roger, and Adam, the second of whom stood witness to three undated deeds registered in Gisburn cartulary,⁶ and to King Henry the Third's foundation charter to Tywardreth abbey; whilst the latter, with his father Stephen and his uncle Reginald, witnessed to Gisburn priory the grant of two culturas of land by Ralph, the son of Richard Fitz-Roger.⁷

SIR WILLIAM DE ROSELS.

1. Sir William de Rosels, lord of Aselby and Neuton, attested fifteen charters to the priory of Gisburn, and was not himself deficient in liberality to monastic endowments. To the monks of Gisburn he gave, in franc-almoigne, six acres at Neuton, which they held of his father Stephen in the meadow called Munkheng, with free egress and ingress to cut, make, and carry hay there.⁸ To the same priory he, in 1280, confirmed his father's charter of tenements and lands in Lackenby, with their homagers, services, and rents, which was witnessed by the Lord William de Percy.⁹

¹ Cartulary in the Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MSS. No. 415, p. 6 *b*.

² Whitby Register, p. 28 *b*.

³ *Id.* p. 23.

⁴ Gisburn Cartulary, p. 117 *a*, *et passim*.

⁵ Gisburn Cartulary, p. 283 *a*.

⁶ *Id.* pp. 194 *a*, 215 *b*.

⁷ *Id.* p. 333 *b*.

⁸ *Id.* p. 262 *b*. ⁹ *Id.* p. 269 *a*.

A.D. 1136. Robert Puttrel—one carucate of land at Burton, of the Earl of Leicester's fee, with every appurtenance within and without the town, as his grandfather Henry and father Robert had conceded it, free from all exaction but king's service;

In 1264, by an agreement executed on the Lord's day next following the conversion of St. Paul, he quit-claimed to the abbot of Whitby all his right of chase between the river Eske and the sea, his right of pasture in the wood Le Ker, and the fields belonging to the grange of Saxby, Soureby, and Risewarp.¹ To the same abbey he gave the patronage of his chapels of Aselby and Neuton; a messuage, croft, and three bovates in the latter place; and a messuage, two bovates, and meadow at the eastern entrance of the town of Aselby; the tithe of his hay, his mills, and fisheries; and consented to do homage for confirmation of the mill-dam at Aselby, cut upon the abbot's land in Sleghtes, and returning a 3s. rent.² He left five sons, William, Geoffrey, Thomas, Stephen, and Michael. Sir Geoffrey de Rosels confirmed to Whitby abbey his father's grant of lands at Neuton for the maintenance of the chaplain;³ and executed, besides, two charters of his own to the same establishment. By his first charter to Whitby abbey, in 1310, he conceded to the monks, pasture for six oxen in all his woods, moors, and pastures at Neuton, excepting one spot, called Roselbigging;⁴ and by a second charter, given at Neuton, on the vigils of St. Laurence the Martyr, 1318, in consideration of the accidents occurring to the cattle of the abbot in the woods of Neuton, substituted the range of Roselbigging pasture.⁵ To the same monks he granted a messuage and three bovates at Neuton, on condition that they should find for ever a fit and able chaplain, lying down and sitting up, night and day, with one assistant, for the constant celebration of divine service in the chapel there.⁶ Of his two daughters and co-heirs, Katharine became the wife of Sir Thomas Boynton of Acton, and Margaret of Sir Thomas de Kyleswick.⁷ Thomas

¹ Whitby Register, p. 42 b.

² Id. in New Dugdale, vol. i. p. 419.

³ Id. vol. i. p. 4.

⁵ Whitby Register, p. 4 b.

⁶ Id. p. 2.

⁷ Harl. MSS. Cod. 1052, p. 54.

the donor promising to be their champion, and stand in their defence, if any one should vex the monks in their possession of it.¹ In a fourth charter, he witnesses the grant of Matthew the son of William, the son of Ulfrie, who, for two marks of

A.D. 1136.

de Rosels was witness to one grant to Gisburn priory.² His lady, Isabella, in her widowhood, quit-claimed all right of dowry in a messuage at Gisburn to Robert Fitz-Henry de Lasingby.³ They had one daughter, Lucia, who confirmed this quit-claim, super-adding to it the toft held by Robert le Surreys, and the common pasture belonging to it in her fee, for 3s. annual rent;⁴ and by her concession, as capital lady, Robert de Lasingby alienated certain of his lands to Gisburn priory.⁵

SIR WILLIAM DE ROSELS.

1. But Sir William is known to have inherited the manor of Aselby; for, in 1293, he was summoned before the justices itinerant, to answer to his lord, King Edward I., by what warrant he claimed to have free warren on all his lands in Aselby, and free park, infangthef, and gallows in the same town: and he appeared, and said, that they were rights which were exercised by his ancestors at a period beyond all memory, without the least hindrance or interruption.⁶ The same lordship he transmitted to his son John de Rosels, who married Beatrice, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Hugh de Morwick, lord of Morwick, in Northumberland. Which Sir John de Rosels, and Beatrice his lady, levied a fine in 1277-8, whereby, in consideration of 100 marks, they settled the purparty of the latter, consisting of various lands and messuages in the counties of Northumberland and Northampton, upon themselves and issue, with remainder in fee to Sir Roger de Lumley and his lady Sibilla, another co-heiress;⁷ and dying without offspring, the inheritance at Aselby and Neuton passed also probably into another family, as no farther memorials of the Rosels, in connexion with those manors, occur in the public records of the kingdom.

¹ Cartulary in the Brit. Mus.; Lansdowne MSS. No. 415, p. 8 b.

² Gisburn Cartulary, p. 235 a.

⁶ Plac. de Quo Warranto.

^{3, 4, 5} Gisburn Cartulary, p. 148 a.

⁷ Baker's Northamptonshire, i. p. 167.

* Arms; *gules*, a saltire *vairy argent* and *gules*.

A.D. 1137. silver and 2s. to his wife, confirms to the monks the four bovates of land in Costock which his father William had conceded for 2s. annual rent, and liable to no other demand, not even to the three halfpence for the Danegeld.¹

To this charter Robert de Boves was also a witness; of which family, deriving its surname from Boves, in the parish of Seint-Pierreport, Guernsey, Hugh de Rosel married a co-heiress,² the sister, probably, of this Robert.³ A monk of Plessis, who has left in MS. some account of the Rosel family in this early age, notices the alliance, and terms Hugh de Rosel, Lord, not only of Rosel, but of Mezerets, L'Estrée, Menil-Thicard, and Reculé, all of which may have been of his wife's marriage-portion; and his representation is authenticated by the charters of his daughter, which will soon be cited. He had, by the Lady de Boves, five sons—

¹ Cartulary of Geroldon, p. 16 a. ² Monk of Plessis. MSS. penès me.

³ LINEAGE OF BOVES.

Arms; *argent* on a bend *azure*, 3 griffins' heads erased, of the field.

Robert de Boves appears to have been the son of Hugh de Boves, who came into England at or soon after the Conquest, and had lands granted him at Costock; which Robert de Boves perished at the siege of Acre, in 1191,⁴ leaving four sons, William, Robert, Enguerran, and Hugh.

1. William de Boves was a benefactor to Garendon abbey. He gave, first, in franc-almoigne, for the souls of himself and his parents, half a carucate of land, of his fee at Rempston, together with the toft and croft without that town, comprising four selions of land, and situate near the toft and croft of Ralph de Rosel, which were of the marriage-fee of his sister Agnes; and secondly, for the souls of all his ancestors, all the land at Radwell, in the same county, that was of his fee, without any reservation, and free from secular service; as Nicholas de Thorp and Hugh de Rempston witnessed.⁵ He is also cited as a witness in a deed of Richard, son of William, and grandson of Andrew de Rixton, conveying three oxgangs of land at Thrump-ton, to John, the son of William de Leke;⁶ and William de Boves, his son, imitating the pious example of his father, granted also to the monks of

⁴ Bened. Abbas, i. p. 632. ⁵ Geroldon Cartulary, p. 29.

⁶ Thoroton's Notts, pp. 13, 14.

Robert, who continues the line of descent, Josceline, Ham- A.D. 1155.
eline, Nicholas, and Ralph, and an only daughter, named
Philippa, whose wealth, accomplishments, or beauty, must
have formed a powerful attraction, as she was sought in
marriage by three successive Norman knights.

To the Cluniac priory of Lenton, near Nottingham, founded
before the year 1108, Hugh de Rosel gave two bovates of his
land at Cotgrave;¹ and to Rufford abbey, in the same county,
built by Gilbert, earl of Lincoln, in 1148, for monks of the
Cistercian order, a charter, which runs thus:—

“ HUGH DE ROSEL, to all the sons of holy church, health!
Know, that I have conceded to the brothers of Rufford, with the
consent of Hugh de Buron and his son Roger, all the land which I
possess at Ampton, in fee and in inheritance, in wood and plain,
in waters, meads, and pastures, free and quit from every earthly

Garendon six bovates, two of which were situate at Costock,² where his
descendants continued settled for many generations.

2. Robert de Boves, with his two brothers Enguerran and Hugh, went
upon the fifth crusade, the armament for which was originally destined
against Babylon, but was afterwards diverted to the siege of Zara, much to
the chagrin of many of the Croises, who were more eager to proceed against
the infidels of Syria than to obtain acquisitions for the state of Venice. This
party, therefore, in 1202, commissioned Robert de Boves to break off the
negotiations which the rest had entered into with Dandolo the Doge.³ The
treaty was accordingly suspended for a season; but Zara meanwhile falling,
to the great displeasure of the Roman Pontiff, Robert de Boves was sent by
the crusading barons, with two clerks and another knight, to appease his
resentment. He accepted the mission; but growing impatient of the charge
before he reached Rome, he left the care of the embassy to his companions,
and followed, with his men-at-arms, those of the crusaders who had pro-
ceeded into Palestine;⁴ whilst his brothers Enguerran and Hugh entered
into treaty with the King of Hungary, and quitted for his service the Latin
camp, with as many of their countrymen as they could allure to the same
enterprise.⁵

¹ Thoroton's Notts. p. 82.

² Thoroton, p. 28.

³ Villehardouin; *Pickering*, p. 39.

⁴ Villehardouin, p. 48.

⁵ *Id.* p. 50.

A.D. 1155. service; but reserving annually to myself and heirs six out of the ten shillings which the brothers are to render from the land, at the feast of St. John the Baptist. As witness, Robert, priest of Bibasthorpe, Hugh de Burun, Warine de Trigintha, Wido de Almeton, and Reginald de Lexinton."¹

The first of these grants is of uncertain date; the latter must have occurred before the second year of Henry II. 1156, when Roger de Burun paid his relief to the king's exchequer, for livery of the lands to which he succeeded,² when Hugh, his father, entered, as a monk, the priory of Lenton. The last mention that is made of Hugh de Rosel is in 1161, when Henry the Second, being at Caen, confirmed to the monks of St. Stephen's there all the gifts which, up to that period, had been conferred upon the abbey. In this charter the king speaks of the exchange which Hugh de Rosel had made with Gislebert the abbot, for the land granted by his father when he there became a monk, in terms that prove him to be still holding lands under the abbey.³ He would thus be living nearly a century after he had signed the Conqueror's foundation-charter, and must accordingly have witnessed the accession of no fewer than five princes to the throne of England.

Improbable as such a longevity may appear, it is substantiated by this evidence; and the fact derives fresh confirmation from the family traditions which, previously to the discovery of these documents, had represented him as having lived to an extreme old age.⁴ The exact date of his death is unknown: but having been a benefactor during his life to the Norman abbey of Mont St. Michel,⁵ the cemetery of that romantic monastery in death received his remains;⁶

¹ Appendix VII. ² Dug. Bar. vol. i. p. 518. ³ Appendix VIII.

⁴ Vide "Anecdotes of the House of Bedford," p. 9.

^{5 6} Vide Charter of Robert Patric, p. 74.

which, to one who has looked over the sands or waters of A.D. 1177. Avranches upon that richly-castellated rock, may justly appear to possess a monument perfectly unequalled in magnificence.

Of his offspring, 2. Josceline Russell, occasionally sur-named of Brune in Lincolnshire, was, in the time of Henry the First, enfeoffed by Peter de Gousal, the founder of Newsham abbey, in that county, in one knight's fee, which is certified by Hugh de Bayeux to Henry the Second, on his levying the aid for marrying the Princess Maud.¹ He married Agnes, daughter and one of the three coheirs of William de Morton.² Ralph, the brother of this lady, dying without issue, she and her sister Cecilia had equal division of his lands, out of which claim was made, in 1177, by Everard Cut, abbot of Brune, of six bovates, and two parts of a mes-suage, with their appurtenances, in Morton, near Bourn, in virtue of charters held by the abbey, and allowed. Her whole purparty, as well in demesne as service, was afterwards given by Josceline, her son and heir, to Hugh de Wake,³ we know not upon what occasion: which Josceline had a sister, Agnes, who was certified by the returns to possess three knights'-fees of the fief of Hugh de Bayeux;⁴ and a son, Geoffrey, one of the witnesses to a charter of Ralph de Sudley to Erdbury priory, in Warwickshire,⁵ and who frequently sat in the échiquiers of Normandy, amongst the justiciary barons of that duchy.⁶

3. The name of Hameline de Russell is entered in the great pipe-roll of the 5th of King Stephen, A.D. 1140; the sheriff of Wilts and Dorset rendering account therein of

¹ *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 276. ³ *Dug. Mon.* new edit. vol. vi. p. 371.

² Arms; *Sa.* on a chev. between 3 martlets *or*, as many mullets of the field.

⁵ *Dug.* new edit. vol. v. p. 407 *a.* ⁶ *MSS. De La Rue.*

A.D.
1128-56.

eight shillings received from him for the Danegeld;¹ and in the 17th of Henry the Second, 1171, Hameline himself rendered an account to the royal treasury of five marks, for custody of the land of his daughter-in-law.²

4. Nicholas de Rosel was a witness, with his brother Ralph, and William Fitz-Ralph, justiciary of Normandy, to the charter of William, son of John de Muleres, which conceded to the Norman abbey of Troarn fourteen sextaries of wheat from his lands at Siccaville; a gift confirmed by William, bishop of Coutances, on the 4th of April, 1184: also to the same knight's charter, executed before the barons in échiquier, in the chapel of St. George, near Caen, conferring on the canons of Briwetton his church at Mandeville, the fief of a vavassour in Surtainville, with all his jurisdiction there except the land occupied by a vineyard, one bordage, and his free chapel of St. Regonese, which he gives to the service of God and that holy virgin, for the spiritual and corporeal benefit of his lord, King Henry, and the souls of his parents and himself.³

5. Of Ralph and of Philippa de Rosel, the evidences are more numerous.

In the Winton Domesday, a survey made between the years 1107 and 1128, by order of Henry the First, to ascertain what Edward the Confessor had in that city of his own demesne, mention is made of the lands of Ralph de Rosel, on the customs of which it is stated that Raphe Crispin held an extent, but which had never been subsequently taxed, except by issue of the royal writ.⁴ In November 1156, Ralph de Rosel witnessed a charter to the abbey of St.

¹ Rot. Pip. 5 Steph. Wiltesc. et Dors. *Nov. Plac. et Nov. Conv.*

² Rot. Pip. 16 Henry II. Dorset. et Sumerseta. *Nov. Plac.*

³ Charta penès me.

⁴ Wint. Domesday, p. 535 a.

A.D.
1176-84.

Stephen, granted by Hubert, the son of Serlo, "in consideration of the enormity of his sins, and for his soul's redemption," consisting of his principal house, and another near it at Caen, in the Rue de Catehoule, on condition that his wife Gisela and his heirs should hold them of the monks for ten shillings annual rent; at the same time giving also that land of his which lay between those houses and the city walls, as far as a certain quarry.¹ In 1176 he attested the charter of his sister Philippa and her husband Robert Patry to the abbey of Mont St. Michel, which will shortly be recited; in 1184 that of William Fitz-John de Muleres just described; and a fourth of Gilo de Bailiol, without date, confirming several donations to the Cistercian abbey of Gouffers-en-Forêt, founded in the year 1130, about a league from Falaise, and dependant on Savigny.² He himself granted a charter to the monks of Mont St. Michel, but the tenour of it is unknown.³

In the following charters, however, preserved in the register of Rufford abbey, his benefaction is apparent:

"To all the sons of holy mother Church, RALPH, the son of HUGH ROSEL, wishes health! Know that I have given, conceded, and hereby confirmed to God, to blessed Mary, and the monks of Rufford, for the weal of my own soul, and that of my father, ancestors, and successors, in pure and perpetual alms, my whole land of Ampton, consisting of twelve bovates, with the reservation only to myself and heirs of six shillings, in summer, at the nativity of John the Baptist, and the like sum to the prior of Lenton, at the feast of St. Martin, in winter. These alms I and my heirs will guarantee to the said monks, and defend for ever against all claimants; and it is to be noted, that for these lands the fraternity

¹ Cartulary of St. Stephen's, p. 36 b. Charta 182.

² Bundle of Charters, in the Bureau de la Préfecture at Caen, to the abbey of Gouffers.

³ Cartulary of Mount St. Michael, "XIX. *Charta Radulphi Roussel.*"

A.D. 1176-84. have never rendered, nor are liable ever to render, secular service to the king."¹

But there was a fine levied in the king's court at Doncaster, the Wednesday after the feast of St. Margaret, in the 4th of King John, anno 1203, between Peter, prior of Lenton, and Ernest, abbot of Rufford, who called upon Ralph Rosel to warrant the twelve oxgangs in Elmeton; when it was finally settled that the latter and his heirs were to have but four shillings per annum, and the prior of Lenton six shillings, to whom the abbot gave an acknowledgment of thirty-five marks of silver for the agreement, which was then engrossed.² Shortly after this, by charter given under his seal, Ralph de Rosel released this four shillings rent, which was done in the presence of John Marco, sheriff of Nottingham, William de Menill, and other witnesses;³ and from abstracts inserted in Garendon cartulary, it is evident that to that abbey also he was a benefactor, the register of its title-deeds comprising his own confirmation-charter of four bovates of land at Rempeston, upon which an annual rent of two shillings was reserved, and his wife's deed of quit-claim to other lands at Radwell.

By this lady, named Agnes, who was also of the family of Boves,⁴ Ralph de Rosel had a son. In Winchester, the son of Ralph Rosel is stated to have held the house which Alwin Sidessone held in the time of Edward the Confessor,—being dismissed thither by his father, subject formerly to a land-tax of six pence and all other customs of the king, but since then paying no other tax than fifty shillings rent;⁵ and to rent another for six shillings, which Climehen held in

¹ Appendix IX.

² Appendix X.

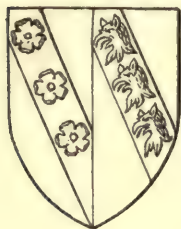
³ Rufford Register, p. 28.

⁴ Geroldon Cartulary, p. 29.

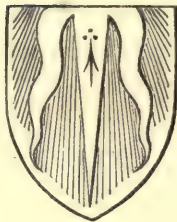
⁵ Winton Domesday, p. 531 a.

ARMS. III.

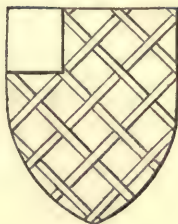
ROSEL AND DE BOVES.



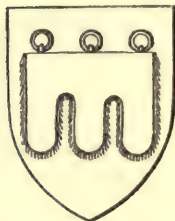
PATRY.



DE HAMARS.



CLINCHAMP.



POMEROY.*



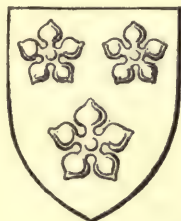
DE WATVILLE.



RUSSELL OF STRENSHAM.



BARDOLF.



DE OKELANDRE.



NEWMARCH.



WALROND.



TILLY.



* Or, a lion rampant gules, within a bordure engrailed sable.



Edward's time, subject to all the customs, unexacted since.¹ A.D. 1184. "Another house," the record says, "which Ailward the Knight held in the same olden time, subject to all the customs, the son of Ralph Rosel now possesses, rendering none; although he has encroached two feet upon the king's footpath, the whole length of his own house, and of the king's gaol for the imprisonment of robbers."² In Tannere Strete, it is also notified that Burewold paid, in the Confessor's time, two shillings and the customs; Alcleid, the customs, land-tax, and brewage; and Aneild, ten pence and the customs; all which the son of Ralph Rosel continues to owe.

The name of this son, which the Winton Domesday leaves uncertain, is stated by the register of Lenton to have been William.³ In the tenth year of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, William Russell and his lady Dionysia sustained a suit brought against them at Bedford, by one Walter Hacon;⁴ and the former, in the reign of Henry the Third, witnessed four charters: first, that of Hugh de Hoveringham, assigning over to Eustace de Ludham, clerk, a toft and its appurtenances in Radcliffe, with the right of common pasture for sixty sheep and their yearling lambs, in the same town, in Hestegaud, and Nesse;⁵ second, that of Nicholas Fitz-Bernard, who, by a deed under his seal, granted to the church of St. Marie of Eddolbesbury and its rectors, a pasture in the Friperie and Septmede for one beast of the rector, in commutation of his tithe there.⁶ In this he is termed "*Dominus Willelmus Russell*," which

¹ Winton Domesday, p. 531 b. ² Ib. p. 532 b.

³ Page 76, as quoted by Thoroton, p. 93. The record has subsequently perished by fire.

⁴ Rot. Plac. Abb. p. 7.

⁵ Thoroton, p. 94.

⁶ Madox, *Firma Burgi*, pp. 46, 47.

A.D. 1184. indicates that he had then had livery of his inheritance. His third testimony was to William de la Mara's grant in fee-farm of all Overindecumbe, in demesne, frank-tenement, and villenage, to the church of St. Mary de Briwere, for a rent of three marks of silver, a quittance of twenty-eight shillings debt, and presents—to himself of eighty silver marcs: to his wife Amphelisia and son Thomas, of a talent each; a palfrey to Simon de Solers, one of his brothers, and a talent to Robert de la Mere, the other.¹ And, lastly, he stood evidence to one Walter Looht's grant in perpetuity to the same monks, of pasture at Colesburn for two hundred and sixty sheep, and ground to make a sheep-fold, they consenting to yield him two shillings annual rent, and a present gift of fourteen silver marks, to make the grant under his seal and charter firm and sound.² By his wife Dionysia, William de Rosel became the progenitor of a long line of descendants, who remained fixed at Cotgrave and Radcliffe, in Nottinghamshire, until the eighteenth century, preserving the ancient family orthography, but by a play upon the name of Rosel, assuming for their own distinctive arms, *argent*, on a bend *sable*, 3 roses *or*.³

6. The numerous benefactions which Philippa de Rosel made to the monasteries of Normandy, in which province her inheritance seems almost exclusively to have fallen, give us a pleasing impression of her generosity and piety. The priory of Plessis Grimould, a few leagues from Harcourt; the abbey of Ardenne, a mile from Caen; Savigny, and the richly-storied shrine of Mont St. Michel, have repaid her partiality to their cloisters, by redeeming, through their cartularies, her name from oblivion. Her first grant to

¹ Madox, *Form. Ang.* p. 274.

² *Id.* p. 299.

³ For the subsequent genealogy, vide Thoroton's *Notts.* p. 93.

the priory of Plessis, executed about the year 1165, is in A.D. 1165. the following terms :—

“ To all the sons of holy mother Church to whom the present writing may come, PHILIPPA DE ROSEL wishes health in the Lord ! Know universally, that I, Philippa, daughter of Hugh de Rosel, have given and conceded in perpetual alms, for the health of mine and my mother’s souls, and the souls of my father, brother, and all my ancestors, to God and the regular canons of Plessis, before Henry, bishop of Bayeux, and with the assent of my illustrious lord, Henry, king of England, the churches that are of my fee in the bishopric of Bayeux, entirely and quietly to possess, with all their tithes, lands, and appurtenances ; namely, the churches of St. Mary d’Estrée and St. Vigor de Mezeretz, five acres at Glatigny, given by my father to the canons, and the tithe there of the mill. I have given also to the same canons the two churches of Rosel, St. Peter’s and St. Martin’s, with their tithes, lands, meadows, and appertaining alms ; the manse also of Clerk Roger, with its spinney and adjacent lands ; remitting too my claims upon it, in perpetual alms. And that this grant may stand firm and unshaken, I have confirmed it in writing, with the attestation of my seal.”¹

This charter appears to have been executed whilst she was a maiden : her next contains a distinct declaration to that effect :—

“ To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present charter may come, PHILIPPA DE ROSEL desires health in the Lord ! I wish it to be signified, for the notice of you all, that I, Philippa, daughter of Hugh de Rosel, unwedded, and free from all marriage engagements, have given and conceded in perpetual alms, for the weal of my soul and those of my father, mother, brother, and all ancestors, to God and St. Stephen of Plessis, and the canons of that priory, before Henry, bishop of Bayeux, and with consent of Henry, king of England,—the chapel of St. Laurence at Dauneŷ, with its land and alms ; the whole land which Roger the Clerk held of me, consisting

¹ Appendix XI.

A.D. 1169. of nine acres, resigned into the hands of Henry, bishop of Bayeux, who in my presence giving his assent, has delivered it, with all its appurtenances, as well in produce as money, offerings, and other profits, to the said canons, in perpetual alms, quietly and freely to enjoy. To the same fraternity I have also given and conceded the manse of Bretonere, which is between the house of Richard Berenger and that of the smith of Rosel; two perches of land at the head of Philip Normant's spinney, with his assent; my moiety of the field Villuti, of the one half whereof the monks of Dauney are in possession; and at Estrée the whole tenement of William, the son of Ralph Fitz-Durand, and the close between the cemetery and the land of Putois. I concede also the donation made by Roger Escot, with consent of his two brothers, Willerm, surnamed Rossel, and William Escot of Champ-de-Croix, that lies before the house of Roger Drogo, which I formerly gave for his service to the aforesaid Roger, whom, with this field, the canons have consented to receive into their order. And all these my donations and concessions I have had confirmed by the muniment of my letters and seal."¹

These presentations were confirmed by charter, both by the Bishop of Bayeux, as lord ecclesiastic of the diocese, and by Ranulph, earl of Chester, as lord paramount of the fee in which they lay. The latter baron was deceased in 1170, which renders it probable that the present deed was executed in 1169, when, according to Dumont, Henry, bishop of Bayeux, visited the priory of Plessis, to receive into his hands a certain donation settled on the same fraternity.

It must have been soon after this benefaction that she joined herself in marriage with Robert Patric, lord of Cully, Menil-Patry, and La Lande-Patry,² whose ancestry was equally noble and renowned. His grandsire was that William Patrix whom Wace describes as having entertained King

¹ Appendix XII.

² Arms, *gules*, 3 rays *argent* issuing from the chief, an *ermine-spot* for difference.—*Du Moulin*.

Harold of England on his Norman visit, and as afterwards A.D. 1169. seeking him so boisterously in the *mêlée* of battle.¹ He, with his wife Gisela, gave to the abbey of St. Trinity all the lands which he held of Duke William, near Caen,² and was recompensed by the Conqueror for his services after the battle of Hastings, with fifteen lordships in Kent and two in Norfolk.³

William, son of this warrior, and the sire of Robert Patry, witnessed a charter of King Henry to the abbey of Savigny;⁴ and, with Chalderia his wife, sanctioned, by the sign of the Cross, William Lineabarbe's gift of his heirship in the mill of Noyers to the same monastery.⁵ He became one of Raoul de Fulgers' staunchest partisans in the predatory warfare which this restless adversary waged against Henry the Second, to reclaim the barony of Fulgers. Sharing with him in the first successes of his sword, in rasing the castles of St. James and Tilleul, and reducing Dol, William Patry was a sufferer in his subsequent reverses, being one of the forty knights who, after their disastrous battle with the king, threw themselves into the tower of Dol, and were taken prisoners on the surrender of that fortress.⁶ The penalty paid for this revolt from Henry, whatever it might be, was not sufficient to

¹ William Patric de La Lande,
For King Harold makes demand;
Rudely saying, if his eye
Only should the knave espy,
He'd attaint the traitor sore
For the broken oaths he swore.
Cognisance of him he kept,
At La Lande since Harold slept
On his journey, when he sought

William, who at Avranches fought
'Gainst the Breton knights; there he
Dubbed him of his chivalry,
And when he had caused him take
Arms and robes for friendship's sake,
Sent him and his men to do
Battle on the Bretons too.
Patric with the Duke ay stood
Armed, in right fair brotherhood.

Roman de Rou.

² Neustria Pia, *Instrum.*

³ Domesday Book.

⁴ Cart. Savig. fol. 6 b.

⁵ Cart. Savig. Charta xiv. in *Ep. Baioc.*

⁶ Benedictus Abbas. vol. i. p. 64.

A.D. 1173. restrain him from afterwards joining issue with the sons of that unhappy monarch against their sovereign, in the rebellion fomented by Louis, king of France. Whether he had wrongs of his own to resent, or merely took up arms from the restless spirit of adventure, he entered, heart and hand, into the cause of the young princes, and prevailed on three of his five sons to join him in the enterprise, Enguerran, Ralph, and Robert, the husband of Philippa de Rosel.

The strife was unsuccessful, and speedily determined : for Hugh, earl of Chester, and Raoul de Fulgers, with these and their other partisans, after attacking some of the king's castles, and garrisoning the tower of Dol, had the boldness to hazard a general battle, September 13, 1173, which went sore against them. Overcome by superior numbers, they were forced to flee : many of them were taken in their flight, and many slain. Of the former were William Patry and his son Ralph, termed by the abbot Benedict, Patric de la Landa :¹ Robert and Enguerran succeeded, with the two barons and other knights, in regaining the fortress,² to which, however, the Brabazons in the pay of Henry immediately laid so strict a siege, as shortly to compel the whole party to surrender at discretion. No fewer than eighty captives of distinction were taken in the tower, whose names the monk of Peterborough gives with a commendable precision. Of this number were Robert Patry and Enguerran his brother :³ who, with the knights taken in the other action, were thrown into the dungeons of the castle of Falaise.

The monk of Plessis conjectures that Robert Patry died in prison ; but this does not seem consistent either with Henry's forbearance, who consented to release his much more

¹ Ben. Abbas. vol. i. p. 64.

^{2 3} Ib. p. 65.

formidable foe, the Baron of Fulgers, on granting his two sons as hostages,—or reconcileable with the evidence of charters. It is more probable, that when William, king of Scotland, who had also been taken in battle on the borders, and imprisoned at Falaise, had obtained his liberation by subscribing articles of fealty, Robert Patry commuted for his offence by some amercement, and was again restored to freedom. A.D. 1176.

Robert Patry had witnessed, previously to his marriage, a charter of his brother Enguerran to the abbey of Longues, of three sextaries of corn, to be received annually at three feasts in the year, at one of his mills.¹ He now, at the request and with the assent of his wife Philippa, confirmed by charter to Nicholas the Prior, before Henry, bishop of Bayeux, all the churches of her fief, which, with their tithes, lands, and alms, she had bestowed on Plessis-Grimoult.² And in 1176, in conjunction with his lady, he enriched the abbey of Mont St. Michel with the following charter, interesting as a family document, from the circumstances it discloses, and as having been found after a very long and laborious examination of an immense mass of old monastic writings:—

“ To all the sons of holy mother Church to whom the present writing may come, Robert Patric and his wife Philippa desire health! Know all, that we have given and conceded in pure, free, and perpetual alms, that land of ours in Guernsey which was Hugh de Rosel's, whose body reposes in the cemetery of the Mount, to God, the holy archangel Michael, and his servants, for the soul's welfare of the aforesaid Hugh, his predecessors, and ourselves. Now, this donation and concession is made upon the altar of the holy Michael, in the 1176th year of the incarnation of our Lord; and that it may remain firm and stable, the abbot Robert and monks of the convent have given us, the said Robert Patry

¹ Cartulary of Longues at Bayeux, p. 53 b.

² Cartulary of Plessis, vol. i. *Les Meserecz*.

A.D. 1176. and his wife Philippa, in their affection, ten pounds of the money of Anjou. Witnesses, Ralph Patry, William de St. Brix, Ralph Russell, Matthew the Clerk, Matthew Chamblency, William Berenger, and many others, at the Mount.”¹

To the charter was affixed a circular seal of yellow wax, representing him in armour on horseback, with a drawn sword in his right hand, and this legend round the rim :
+ SIGILLUM + ROBERTI + PATRICII.²

A more singular charter is extant of the same parties. In 1112, Raoul de Fulgers, “seeing that the tide of life hastened daily to its close,—that all the pomps of the passing age, the flowers and roses of vernal kings, and emperors, and dukes, and the crowns and palms of the wealthy and renowned, withered and decayed,—provident in God for the souls of himself and his wife Avicia, of his sons, his daughters, parents, and even of his barons,” had founded and endowed the Cistercian abbey of Savigny.³ To this abbey Robert Patry and his wife, about the year 1176, released the claims which, as capital proprietors, they had upon a benefaction made by one of their knights, in a charter that runs thus :

“In the name of the most high and undivided Trinity, it is noted to all Christians, as well present as future, that I, Robert Patry, and Philippa my wife, have conceded, and by this charter have confirmed, for the health of our souls, to God and the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Savigny, in free and perpetual alms, that donation in our fief which Ruald, the son of Robert Ruald, presented, with himself; the lordship, namely, denominated the demesne of Mary de Bocelai, and that named Belissent : together with the fourth part of the ninths that was our right; viz. one dinner to me there, and one ring due yearly to my wife. And in thus conceding them to the aforesaid abbey, in eternal remittance, we yield

¹ Appendix XIII.

² Vide Vignette at the close of the chapter.

³ Gallia Christiana, *Instrumenta*, p. 110.

them free from every service but one hawk due to us triennially. A.D. 1176. We desire, therefore, that the abbey may have, and in peace possess, these alms, with their appurtenances of every kind, according to the cirograph between the monks of Savigny and Herbert Ruald. Finally, the monks, in their affection, have given to me ten pounds of the money of Anjou, and to my wife the price of two gold rings, in testimony of our concession.”¹

The last notice that occurs of Robert Patry is in a charter of King Henry the Second, signed at Falaise, in presence of Froger, archbishop of Sens, and Hugh de Cressy, in which he confirms specifically to Nicholas, prior of Plessis, all the donations made to that monastery by him and his wife that were of her fee.² He must have died in 1176, as, in that year, Philippa de Rosel, mindful of her own mortality, executed singly, in her own name, the following benefaction to the abbey of Ardenne, founded and endowed by Aiulph de Marché and Asceline his wife in 1138, for Præmotensian monks, about one mile from Caen, and to which the Byrons, her immediate neighbours, gave several important donations, as may be seen in the foundation-charter.³

“ Be it known to all, as well present as future, that I, Philippa, daughter of Hugh de Rosel, have given to God, the church of St. Mary de Ardenne, and the canons there serving God, by an offering of one pound upon the altar of the blessed Mary, the conventual fraternity, and several others standing round, for the weal of mine own soul and the souls of my father, my mother, and other ancestors, in perpetual alms, free and quit of all exaction, ten acres of land, of mine own demesne at Grouchy, in four fields—that which is called the Meadow, the field Wigo, Fullo’s field, and half an acre on the other side of the road. For this mine alms, the canons have admitted me and my ancestors to the prayers and other benefits of their order, and at my death have conceded to me

¹ Cartulary of Savigny, penès M. de Gerville: Charta xlii. Appendix XIV.

² Cartul. of Plessis, No. 18.

³ Gall. Christ. *Instrumenta*, pp. 77–8.

A.D. 1176. the free sepulchre which I have chosen amongst them. Moreover, besides these church transactions, they have quitted me at the king's exchequer of thirty pounds in Anjou money which I owed the king, and to myself have now given a hundred Anjou shillings. And as, amidst the variety of men, the species of deceit in practice are quite as multifarious, that this act of mine may neither be cancelled by oblivion, nor be liable to produce injury to the said canons, through the medium of any one; but, on the contrary, that it may be preserved firm and faultless to all future times, I have been careful, in my present charter, to confirm the benefaction to them by the corroborating impression of my seal. Done with all publicity, in the King's Hall, at the castle of Caen, before his justices sitting in exchequer, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1176, and with these witnesses—the Lord Richard, bishop of Winchester, at this time principal justiciary, Gilbert Pipart, Richard Gifford, Simon de Tornebu, Geoffrey the Monk, Ralph de Grantval, Simon de Scures, Robert Belet, William de Caliz, Roger de Scures, William Tanetin, and many others.”¹

To the charter is affixed an oval seal of green wax, with a rude representation of the Lady Philippa's bust, and circumscribed, + SIGILUM PHILIPPE DE ROSELLO.²

A few years after this donation, she entered a second time into marriage with Ralph de Hamars, as appears by his charter, confirming to Nicholas, prior of Plessis, before Henry, bishop of Bayeux, William Fitz-Ralph, and other barons sitting in échiquier, the benefactions which his wife Philippa made before her marriage with him; and that they should be fixedly preserved, he is careful specifically to recite them.³ He was Lord of Hamars and the mountainous district round it, a few leagues from Harcourt; and till within the last few years, the vestiges of his manorial seat were standing, under the name of *La Cour de Hamars*. Besides

¹ Appendix XV.

² Vide Vignette at close of chapter.

³ Appendix XVI.

this document, I find his name as witness, with his relative, A.D. 1180. Robert de Hamars, to a deed of Richard de Champéry, presenting to the regular canons of Delivrande the church of St. Cornelius, with its tithes and appurtenances;¹ with Robert, abbot of Fontenay-le-Marmion, and Robert, abbot of St. Sauveur, to Ralph Tesson's gift of three sextaries of wheat, his mill of St. Vedast, and half a bushel of barley, with all the donations of his progenitors, to the abbey of D'Aunay;² and, lastly, to a gift of two mills, by the same baron, erected in his demesne,³ and to a charter of Jordan de Tesson and Letitia his wife, of ten quarters of corn annually from his mill at Columbers, both to the abbey of St. Sauveur.⁴ Ralph de Hamars bore upon his shield, *Argent fretty gules*, a canton *gules*; but although for some centuries individuals of the house continued to preserve his name and race, there is no valid reason for believing that either he or Robert Patry left any offspring by this lady.

About the year 1180, Philippa de Rosel made her last monastic benefaction upon record, presenting, for the welfare of her soul and those of all her ancestors, with her relative, John de Boves, whom, for the love of God and at her request, the canons of Plessis received as an associate of their order, whatever she possessed in men, meadows, and rents at Mesnil-Thicart, situate in the parish of St. Audoen de Reculé, free and quit from every service and secular exaction. And that her endowment might remain for ever faultless and unshaken, confirmed it by the attestation of her charter and the muniment of her seal.⁵

During the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, under

¹ Charter cited by the Monk of Plessis. MS. penès me.

² Bundle of charters to the abbey of D'Aunay, in the Préfecture at Caen.

³ ⁴ Cartulary of St. Sauveur, in the Bureau at St. Loo. ⁵ Appendix XVII.

A.D. 1190. whom her kinsman, Raoul de Patrie, won renown in Syria, there is no historic notice of her; but when Normandy was lost to his unworthy brother, after witnessing the fall of Château-Gaillard, his last fortress, which still stands a massive and majestic ruin, dismantled indeed by the jealousy of man, but indestructible in its materials as well as its renown,—the “daughter of a year,” yet surviving centuries of change,—she was amongst those who were cited by Philip Augustus to do homage for their Norman fiefs, who obeyed the conqueror’s summons, and took to him the oaths of fealty and service.¹

After the decease of Ralph de Hamars, in this interval between 1180 and 1200, Philippa de Rosel was again sought in marriage, and allied herself with Hugh de Clinchamp, lord of Donney and of Clinchamp on the D’Orne; a knight deducing his origin in the ninth descent from Richard de Clinchamp, who flourished in the year 800, and was accustomed to bear the oriflamme of Charlemagne when he warred in defence of “holy Church;” and hence the arms that were borne by his descendants.² This honour he transmitted to Raoul his son, who accompanied Lotharius, king of Lorraine, in his battles with the Saracens. Walter de Clinchamp, the fourth in descent from Raoul, flourished in 1098, leaving two sons, Raoul, lord of Donnay, who had no offspring, and Philip, lord of Clinchamp, who died at the age of 78, A.D. 1162. Eudo, the son of Philip, was living in 1138, and had for his successor Rodulphe, or Ranulph, who took the name of Travers, and under this appellation appears, both as a principal and witness, in several gifts to monasteries of the twelfth century.³ His offspring were, 1. Hugh de Clinchamp;

¹ Duchesne, *Scrip. Norm. App.*

² *Argent*, a gonfalon *gules*.

³ *Cartul. of Plessis*, vol. ii. *Cart.* 944, &c.

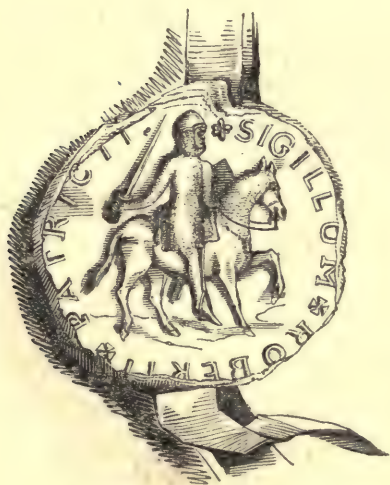
the husband of Philippa de Rosel ; 2. Philip ; and 3. Ralph, A.D. 1200. who devoted himself to the duties of the church. Alain de Clinchamp, his grandson, having first signalised himself by his prowess in the crusade of St. Louis, attended Charles of Anjou in his expedition against Naples, to whom he was highly recommended by his gallantry in deeds of arms.¹

In virtue of the right which his marriage conferred on him as lord of the fief, Hugh de Clinchamp confirmed the donation of a manse at Rosel which William Trenchomel made to the abbot and monastery of St. Stephen at Caen.² In 1221 he confirmed by charter, at Clinchamp, a gift made by Henry de Condrey to the abbey of Fontenay;³ and in 1227 bestowed, himself, the patronage and tithes of the church of St. Mary and the priory at Clinchamp, on the Hôtel Dieu at Caen.⁴ He left, and possibly by the Lady Philippa, two sons, Ralph and Hugh, as he distinctly specifies that this benefaction was with consent of Ralph the Clerk, his brother, and of his sons Ralph and Hugh the minor. They likewise, in the same year, confirmed the present by charters of their own:⁵ at all events, it was from Philippa de Rosel that they inherited the seignories of Mezeretz and L'Estrée, which continued for many generations unalienated from the Clinchamp family ; nor is the stem of their lineal descendants yet extinct in Normandy. As regards Philippa de Rosel, she was doubtless interred, agreeably to her provision, in the sanctuary of the abbey of Ardenne, which was highly venerated, says the Abbé de la Rue, on account of the regular lives of its inmates, and their hospitality to the poor.⁶ The abbey sustained many disasters by

¹ Monk of Plessis. ^{2 4 5} MSS. De la Rue. ³ Charta, penès me.

⁶ Essais Historiques sur la Ville de Caen, tom. ii. p. 106.

A.D. 1221. pillage in the wars with England, and by ravage of the Protestants in the sixteenth century; but it survived through all, down to the French Revolution. Then its altars were desecrated, its cloisters overthrown, and the tombs of its benefactors sacrilegiously destroyed. The stranger who now visits the spot may still pace the aisle of the abbey church, and survey a wide extent of country from its summit; but instead of "the chaunted hymn and tapered rite," that were wont of yore to consecrate its precincts, he will hear only the hum of rustic labour, the murmur of a dove, or the simple sound of a solitary flail. In the staircase of the tower whence the sacristan used to ring the chime for matins, the owl nurses her brood; and spiders weave their webs along the columns that encompassed marbles, sacred to the memory of the Lords of Hermanville and the generous Lady of Rosel.



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING STEPHEN TO THE DEATH OF
LLEWELLYN, PRINCE OF WALES.

A.D. 1169—1277.

Accession of King Stephen... Robert de Russell in the battle of Lincoln, 1141... His charter to Caniton Priory, 1144... Joins the Earl of Pembroke in the Invasion of Ireland, 1171... Found the town and castle of Balrothery... At the Conquest of Ulster, 1174... Is enfeoffed in lands at Calveley... His family... Richard, lord of Esher in Surrey, 1200... William, baron of Lecale, ancestor of the Irish branch... Thomas, progenitor of the family in Worcestershire... Patrick, lord of Deneby... Robert, lord of Papworth Agnes, 1209-49... Charter of Alain de Rosel to the Priory of Plessis-Grimoult, 1269... Loss of Normandy... Odo de Russell... Hugh III... His grants to Bisham priory, 1228-30... John de Russell, seneschal to King Henry the Third, 1218-20... Surety for fulfilling the conditions of two treaties... Has the custody of two royal castles... Sir Ralph Russell summoned on various expeditions for the barony of Newmarch, 1242-57... His daughter Matilda... As sheriff of Wilts, his letter to the King, 1263... His family... Sir James; Sir Robert, 1297.

WHILST the sister of Robert de Rosel was thus, in conformity A.D. 1140. with the religious fervour of the age, endeavouring to secure her spiritual interests, he himself was actively engaged in pursuing the distinction suited to a more secular ambition. Opportunities for this were not wanting during the turbulent reign of Stephen, throughout which the whole kingdom formed but one spacious camp, varied by the alternate successes and reverses of conflicting partisans, the array of knights, the siege of castles, and the sudden fall and exaltation of crowned dignities. Although the usurper had sworn

A.D. 1140. at his coronation, and by charter confirmed to the English barons, all the good laws, liberties, and customs, which they had enjoyed under Edward the Confessor,¹ and especially followed the example of that monarch in abolishing the unpopular tax levied for defence against the Danes, he was little mindful of his promise when the crown — the great object of his ambition — was obtained. The Great Roll of the Pipe, a record ascribed to the fifth year of his reign, and which contains a comprehensive abstract of the monies paid, on various grounds, into the exchequer, gives frequent proof that the exaction still continued; the sheriff of Oxford rendering account, amongst others, of five shillings received towards it from Robert de Russell.² The largesses which Stephen scattered amongst the principal nobles, for a while secured their acquiescence in an usurpation sanctioned by a clergy whose authority he flattered; but when these failed, and their pride became piqued by the countenance which he gave to foreign mercenaries, the gloss upon his title wore away, and the claims of Matilda began to be remembered. Knights and vassals were then collected by her adherents, castles fortified, and battles fought in her behalf. Amongst the barons who were latest in unsheathing the sword in her quarrel, as having received favours from the monarch, but whose ultimate support had a signal influence on her fortunes, was Ranulph, earl of Chester.

Under his banner, as one who owed to him knight-service, Robert de Russell was convened, and attended him in arms to the celebrated battle of Lincoln, where the earl, after several ineffectual attempts to dissipate the royal phalanx

¹ Charter; Brit. Mus. Claudius, D. ii. fol. 75.

² Mag. Rot. Pip. Oxonia, *Nova Placita et Novæ Covenções*; et Bod. Lib., MSS. *Dodsworth*, vol. xii.

by his cavalry, leaped from his own charger, bade his knights A.D. 1141. also dismount, and broke in by the weight of this united onset. Stephen was the object of all eyes and hands: he defended himself heroically, and, by a blow upon the helmet, felled Earl Ranulph to the earth. The followers of the earl rushed to his rescue, and slew, or took captive, the defenders of the royal person. His chivalry were overcome; but Stephen still fought on, plying on every side his tremendous battle-axe. The battle-axe broke, and he unsheathed his sword: the sword broke also. In this defenceless state, one knight stepped forward, and laid hold upon his crest; others came to his assistance; the king was led captive to the Earl of Gloucester, was confined by him in Bristol; and in a few months nearly the whole of England submitted to the empress.

A momentary interval of tranquillity being thus presented, our diversion from the tent to the monastery becomes a natural transition. Robert de Russell, amongst his various possessions, numbered some lands in the Fens, which he held under William de Mohun,¹ hereditary lord of Lion, in Normandy, whom Matilda, in recompense for his fidelity in obeying her summons to the siege of Winchester Castle, had now rewarded with the earldom of Somerset and Dorset. A portion of these and other lands De Russell bestowed on the priory of Caniton, in a charter couched in the ensuing terms:—

“ Know all men, present as well as future, that I, Robert de Russell, by consent and at the desire of my lord, William de

¹ He was grandson to the William de Moyon who attended the Conqueror, and founded the priory of Bath. The baron himself, of whom mention is here made, founded Brewton priory, in the same diocese, and gave to it the tithe and patronage of Lion.—*Abbé de la Rue*, tom. ii. p. 365. *Ess. Hist.*

A.D. 1141. Mohun, earl of Somerset, have given and conceded, and by this my charter have confirmed, for the weal of my soul, the soul of Hugh my father, and of all my ancestors and successors, in perpetual alms, all that land of mine which John Le Faber held of me in the Fen, with all its appurtenances, to God, St. Mary of Caniton, and the brothers there serving God. Moreover, to the same church and brothers I have given, with consent of Robert my son, all the lands which Nicholas held in Mirfield, to have and to hold of me and my heirs, free, quit, and entire, for ever; and I and my heirs will warrant and defend them to these monks and their successors, against all men."¹

But at this moment the favourite object of baronial liberality was the order of Knights Templars. Twenty years had elapsed since, as a poor but devoted fraternity, formed to protect pilgrims from injury and insult, they were established by King Baldwin in rooms adjacent to the Temple of Solomon. They had risen in this period to opulence; they had made all Europe resound with the fame of their military deeds; Pope Eugenius invested them with a distinctive habit—the cross of red cloth stitched upon their mantles; and issuing forth in consecrated splendour, the Red-cross knights of romance, they now came first to form a settlement in England, and receive the ready benefactions of the faithful. Their singular combination of the military and monastic character won them golden opinions from all ranks of the people, who vied with each other in the extent of their endowments. Robert de Russell bestowed upon them various lands and rents round Cerne in the Isle of Wight,² his son Alain the church of Donington in Lincolnshire;³ and in 1185, when inquisition was made by

¹ Charter quoted by William le Neve, York Herald, "from the original with Mr. Rob. Treswell;" in a Genealogy in the Bedford Office. Appendix XVIII.

² Dug. Mon. new edit. vol. vi. p. 836 *a*.

³ Id. p. 838 *a*.

Geoffrey Fitz-Stephen, the Templars already possessed that large rental which Dugdale gives in his "Monasticon," amounting, by the computation of Matthew Paris, in his time, to the proceeds of no fewer than nine thousand manors.

A.D.
1147-51.

In the military transactions of the next five years—the siege of the castle of Winchester, which was attended both by the Earls of Somerset and Chester; in the siege of Oxford, whence the Empress made so romantic and unhopèd-for an escape; and in the battle of Wilton, where Stephen would again have been made prisoner, or slain, but for the heroism of his seneschal—it is natural to suppose that Robert de Russell bore a part. After the surrender of Farringdon Castle, in 1146, the fortunes of Matilda, however, rapidly declined, and a general defection from her interests took place. The Earl of Chester himself forsook her standard; and, not satisfied with maintaining an honourable neutrality, attended Stephen, with three hundred knights, the flower of his retainers, to the siege of Bedford. But this capricious change was only one of many instances in that unsettled age, of adhesion without attachment, and love of stirring action without fixed or patriotic principle.

In 1147, Robert de Russell was witness to two charters of Hugh de Buron; the one giving to God and the priory of Lenton whatever he possessed in the town of Cotgrave, except the knights¹ which he retained for the service of the king and of his son and heir; the other conferring upon the church of the Holy Trinity there, with the consent of his sons Hugh and Roger, Turchetil, his man of Cotgrave, with his children, lands, and all his other tenures, the entire land

¹ Viz. Robert, the son of Andrew de Costock; Robert de Rosel; Robert, son of Serlo; Albert de Kilburne, his steward; and Hugh de Busli, his chamberlain.—*Thoroton*, p. 82.

A.D.
1160-66.

held of him by Walter, son of Josceline, and Swinecliffe and Grendale, which were of his own demesne.¹ In 1150 he witnessed the charter of Samson le Forte to St. Peter and the priory of Harold in Bedfordshire, confirming, as capital lord, Robert de Blosseville's gifts in Brayfield;² and in 1151 that of Almaric Peche, lord of Briset in Suffolk, confirming to St. Leonard and the Augustine priory there, which his father-in-law had founded, the church and tithes of Briset, the chapel and tithes of Lose, the tithes of Perstede, and all the other benefactions which the founder had bestowed, at the suggestion of Herbert, bishop of Norwich, and his lord, William Peverel le Mechin.³ This is the last historic notice of him during the time of Stephen, who closed his troubled and tumultuous reign, the latter end of the year 1154.

But in the sixth year of his successor, 1160, Robert de Russell again appears, as one of the knights who, with William, abbot of Battle, bore testimony to a charter of Richard de Lucy, apprising all his men and friends, French as well as English, present as well as future, throughout England, that he had made to Ralph Brito, by the service of one knight, a feoffment in fee-simple of his manor of Chigwell;⁴ and in 1166 his own benefaction of fourteen acres in Cotgrave to God, the church of St. Mary, and monks of Swineshead, received the royal confirmation.⁵ In the same year, upon the assessment of the Aid for the marriage of the Princess Maud to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, he was certified to hold in Gloucestershire, of the old feoffment, namely, before the accession of Henry the Second to his throne, the fifth part of a knight's-fee

¹ Thoroton, p. 82 *b*.

² Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 87.

³ Id. vol. i. p. 773 *a*.

⁴ Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 202 *b*.

⁵ Madox, Form. Ang. p. 178.

of Ralph de Sudley;¹ in Dorsetshire, of Alured de Lincoln, A.D. 1168. one knight's-fee,² which lay at Lyme;³ and a knight's-fee, all but a virgate, of the abbey of Cernell; but the abbot, in his return, complains that he possesses it unjustly, against the convent's wish, as it had been held neither by his grand-sire nor his father.⁴ In Derbyshire, Patrick de Rosel, his son, is stated by Roger de Buron to have been enfeoffed in one knight's-fee during the reign of Henry the First,⁵ which territory, it appears by other evidences, lay at Deneby park.⁶ Two years after this, A.D. 1168, Robert de Russell was fined three marks in the king's exchequer, for detaining the money of Waleran beyond the plighted time⁷—perhaps in preparation for the invasion of Ireland, which was now undertaken by Robert Fitz-Stephen and Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, at the pressing solicitations of M'Morogh, king of Leinster. The former in the May of 1170, with a small body of knights and archers, landed in the river Bann, and took the town of Wexford, which, according to agreement, was made over to him in fee. The Earl of Pembroke's services had been secured by the promise, on M'Morogh's part, of the hand of his daughter Eva, and the ultimate succession of his whole inheritance; but his private affairs in England prevented his following Fitz-Stephen till the ensuing summer, and he employed the interval in levying forces for the expedition.

Amongst the knights whom Strongbow soon attracted to his standard was Robert, lord of Kingston-Russell, who, besides his men-at-arms and their customary squires, brought

¹ Lib. Niger. p. 168.

² Id. p. 80.

³ Testa de Neville.

⁴ Id. p. 77.

⁵ Id. p. 224.

⁶ Lysons' Derbyshire.

⁷ Madox, Excheq. p. 388.

A.D. 1169. to his assistance the swords of his three sons, Richard, William, and Thomas. As an adherent of the Earl of Chester, whose incursions into Wales were frequent, De Russell may have been already known to Pembroke, by his actions in those border-wars; and it is probable that the prospect of fresh honour to be won, and future lands to be acquired in the enterprise, rather than any present guerdon from the earl, who was known to be necessitous, influenced his mind in listening to the proposals of that baron. Earl Strongbow was meanwhile detained in Wales, by the desire to receive from Henry, either the restitution of those rightful possessions of which he was deprived, or a distinct permission to prosecute his interests in Ireland; but obtaining from the monarch only equivocal replies, he left Robert de Russell to complete some further levies, and, in the month of August 1171, with two hundred gentlemen of service and one thousand soldiers, sailed for Waterford, reduced the city, and solemnised his nuptials with the stipulated bride.

Robert de Russell conducted his company of knights neither to Waterford nor Wexford, but steered towards Dublin, whither M'Morogh and Earl Richard were now tending, across the mountains of Glendalagh. By stress of wind, however, or some other cause, he was prevented from disembarking near the bay of Dublin, and landed northward of the city, near that cluster of small islands called the Skirrs.¹ Thence he proceeded to effect a junction with the main army before the walls of Dublin; and, after assisting in the capture of the city, accompanied the Earl in his expedition against O'Ruark, prince of Meath. His

¹ Camden; Lansdowne MSS. 229, p. 22.

other achievements at this period are less clearly marked, A.D. 1171. but blend themselves with the military operations of the earl. His name is not to be found in the list of those whom Henry first rewarded for their service when he visited Ireland in 1172, to receive the formal homage of such Irish chieftains as were willing to acknowledge their dependency; and, in fact, as all the monarch's grants of land and appointments to the custody of towns and castles, on this occasion, were made to check the ascendancy of Strongbow, we must conclude that De Russell was regarded less as the monarch's trusty subject than as Pembroke's partisan. By the latter, however, his services were well rewarded; Drynom being settled on him, and that portion of Fingal where he first landed, and where he afterwards built the town and castle of Balrothery;¹ all Leinster, with the exception of Dublin, being recognised of Pembroke's fee, after M'Morogh's death, which occurred in 1171.

Ireland was not yet, however, even nominally subdued. A number of inferior chieftains, the heads of powerful, rude, and independent septs, despised the English yoke, and scorned even a titular submission. Hence the king readily assented to the request of the enterprising John de Courcy, and granted him the entire province of Ulster, whither the English arms had not yet penetrated, if he should subdue it by his sword. Before this baron's preparations for the new adventure were completed, the brave Earl of Pembroke died; and De Russell, being thus freed from his earlier military engagements, tendered to De Courcy the services of himself and his adherents. They were willingly accepted; and, as an inducement to others, the latter freely promised to share his

¹ Camden; Lansdowne MSS. 229, p. 22.

A.D. circ.
1173-4.*

acquisitions with all who should attend his banner. With no more than two-and-twenty knights and three hundred common soldiers—a force, however, which was afterwards increased—De Courcy proceeded on his march. He went forward, says Giraldus Cambrensis, under the belief that he was fated by the prophecies of Merlin to succeed; and the tradition of the country, that Down was to be subdued by some stranger mounted on a white horse, and bearing a shield charged with painted birds, supplied his ready genius with fresh means for their accomplishment. He accoutred himself according to this singular superstition, and on the fourth day of his march arrived at Down. Dunleve, the prince of Uladh, fled, with his attendants, at his first appearance, but it was only to interest the neighbouring chieftains in his quarrel; and whilst De Courcy and his followers were fortifying Down, a tumultuous army was collected, and led before the city walls. The adventurers, unable to sustain a siege, and confident in the prowess of their own heroic phalanx, advanced into the plains to meet the Irish. The onset was tremendous, and the conflict stubborn. It was fought for a considerable time with infinite bravery on both sides; but the unguided fury of the ill-armed multitude was no match for the steady intrepidity of the Anglo-Norman knights. The position these had chosen rendered them in a great measure impassive to the charge of numbers; whilst their own chivalric onsets were strikingly effective. Under their repeated efforts, the pennons of the Irish host, the host itself was seen to waver, like pine-trees in a storm. A simultaneous war-cry spread the indecision; indecision shortly

* John de Courcy founded the monastery of Ynis-Courcy, says Dugdale in his *Bar.*, three years after his conquest of Ulster; viz. 22 Henry II. 1176.

deepened into confusion ; Courcy and De Russell plied with greater energy their swords and polished lances, and were supported on all sides by one or other of their company. The chieftains fled ; the congregated kerns were too terrified to rally ; their overthrow was total. A.D. 1174.

In the summer of the same year, the contest was renewed by a more formidable army of the confederated Irish ; but the issue was the same. The annalists mention ten thousand men as having been engaged in the former battle, and fifteen thousand in the latter. The account must be greatly exaggerated ; but it proves at least the serious obstacles that opposed the occupation of the province, and the unconquerable prowess of the victors. On a third occasion, the Anglo-Normans were returning with a numerous prey of cattle from a maraud in the territories of a native chief, who had razed two of the forts with which he was intrusted. They had gained, in three divisions, a long and deep defile surrounded by inhospitable woods, when a large army of the Irish, that lay in ambush, sprang from their concealment, and fell upon each band at one and the same moment. Encumbered by the cattle, and vigorously assailed by the rude enemy, it required more than their usual valour and address to extricate themselves from the situation. They effected the point with considerable loss, and made good their retreat to one of their own forts, avenging themselves from time to time upon their fierce pursuers. They even ventured to attack the foe in their encampment near the fort, at the suggestion of Armoric de St. Lawrence, who, going out by night to reconnoitre the position, found them in a state of the most careless security. The advice was followed ; the movement executed ; the Irish were surprised in the midst of their revelry, and of the many thousands who had made the irruption from the forest,

A.D. 1089. scarcely two hundred are said to have escaped the carnage of the night.

A period of temporary tranquillity followed these incessant toils, during which De Courcy made division of the province. To Robert de Russell he assigned the barony or peninsula of Lecale, and the Kells in the north; but the latter might be a later allotment than the former, as it can scarcely be supposed that the savage sept whence it derived its name was, at this early period of the settlement, sufficiently subdued to render its possession other than a nominal or useless tenure.

The fame of these exploits in Ulster reached the ears of Henry; although not wholly unmoved by the representations of his courtiers, who sought to excite his jealousy of the conquests which the adventurers were making, he could not but admire their intrepidity and perseverance. Before his death, in 1189, as a token of his royal favour, he is stated by Camden to have settled on De Russell a great part of Galway; but the period when the grant was made is involved in obscurity. Camden says, "after the conquest of Ireland was fynished;"¹ an expression, at best, of very equivocal signification. The intestine discord that prevailed amongst the sons of the great Roderic O'Connor favoured the extension of De Courcy's arms in Connaught; and as Galway forms a portion of that province, we are inclined to the opinion that De Russell aided his exertions in that quarter. Restless, however, and implacable as the Irish were against the invaders, it was only by the happiest union of vigilance and courage that the Anglo-Norman knights any where maintained their acquisitions; and even in the time of Queen

¹ Lansdowne MSS. ut sup.

Elizabeth, as Camden hints in his "Britannia," the Russells A.D. 1197. of Downshire were still occasionally compelled to defend their manors by the sword. To the sons who shared in the toils and honour of his conquests, Robert de Russell parted, at his death, the territories he had won, leaving Lecale and the Kells to William; Drynom and its dependencies to the second; and Douffin in Munster to the third:¹ but a few more particulars remain to be recorded, before we pass to the acts of his successors.

It was during the expeditions into Ireland that the knight-service due to the king from lands held by that tenure, was first commuted for by scutage. In 1172, Alured of Lincoln, rendering his account to the exchequer for scutage of his Dorset knights who were not serving in Ireland, states that Geoffrey de Pideley owed 7s. 3d. for rent of the land between him and Robert de Russell.² In 1175, Pope Alexander III. by bull confirming to Henry, abbot of Winchcombe, and the brothers there preferring a religious life, the benefactions made to them, specifies a virgate and three acres which they had bought of Robert Russell.³ Under the reign of Richard Cœur-de-Lion but few particulars occur. It is, however, recorded that William Longchamp, his chancellor, bishop of Ely and legate of the Pope, bestowed on Robert de Russell and his heirs all the land of Calvey in Norfolk, for his service, and that King Richard confirmed the grant as an escheat, in 1194.⁴ The returns for the last year of that monarch, A.D. 1199, specify that William Fitz-Gereran owed

¹ MSS. in Bibl. du Roi.

² Mag. Rot. Pip. 18 Hen. II. Dors. et Som.

³ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 854.

⁴ Witnesses, Earl Roger le Bigot, Geoffrey de Say, Robert de Lisle, Richard archdeacon of Ely, Osbert de Lacy, Hugh Pipard, Alexander Barre, William and Hugh de Longchamp.—BLOMFIELD'S *Norf.* vol. v. p. 1209.

A.D. 1200. five marks for the use of Robert Russell's rent upon one knight's-fee, with its appurtenances;¹ and in 1200, shortly after John's accession, he obtained on some account the following laconic writ:—

“The King to Garine de Glapion, seneschal of Normandy, health! We command you to let our beloved and faithful Robert Russell have the money which we directed you by word of mouth to deliver to him. Witness myself. June 21.”²

This is the last mention we find made of him. The date of the termination to his active and heroic life, and the place of his interment, are alike unknown. He was the first of the family who is stated to have fixed his residence at Berwick, which, with Kingston-Russell and other lands in Dorsetshire, he left to his son Odo. The intimacy that subsisted between his father and the family of Gosceline de Pomeroy, and the conjoint interest in certain churches which his grandson, John de Russell, possessed with the descendants of that knight, strongly favour the conclusion that Robert de Russell married an heiress of that noble house. He had, besides Odo, who continues the descent, seven sons and one daughter, of whom we will now briefly speak.

Richard, William, and Thomas, after having served in the Irish expedition, were all witnesses, in the year 1200, with their brother Patrick the Clerk, to Geoffrey de Constantine's foundation-charter to the priory of Tristernath, in western Meath.³ In some abstracts from the cartulary, they themselves, or their descendants, appear as benefactors also to the same religious structure.

2. Richard de Russell seems to have had Rempstone as

¹ Mag. Rot. 10 Richard I. Norf. et Suff. Nova Oblata.

² Ex rotulis forinsecis in Turr. Lond. Normanniæ. Anno 2 Jo. R. m. 5.

³ Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 1048.

a part of his inheritance : he confirmed by his writing, without A.D. 1200. date, to the abbot and monks of Garendon, all the lands and tenements which they held there of his father's and forefathers' gifts.¹ He married Maud, the daughter and heiress of Robert de Watville, lord of Esher, by whom he had a daughter, Eleanor, who married a De Collee, and had issue one son, Gilbert. Maud de Watville carried the manor of Esher-Watville to her second lord, Sir William de Melbourne ; but Gilbert de Collee finally recovered seisin of it.³

3. The lineage of William, baron of Lecale, is traced down to the time of the Pretender, who, by his letters patent, dated at St. Germain's, confirmed to Charles Russell, then of Cadiz, the descent drawn out by James Terry, Athlone Herald, at his pressing instance, which will be found in the Appendix.⁴

4. Thomas was ancestor of the Strensham branch, in Worcestershire, which assumed for its arms, *Argent*, a chevron between 3 cross crosslets, botony fitchée, *sable* ; and which furnished, during the succeeding reigns, several escheators and high sheriffs of the county.⁵ John Russell, knight, was master of the horse to Richard the Second : his descendant, Sir William, was made baronet in 1634. Thomas de Russell held *in capite* of the king, apparently from the time of Henry the Second, lands in Brocton, Shropshire, by service of being at Montgomery in arms to defend it, on receipt of the king's summons ; but having had the misfortune to com-

¹ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 771.

⁴ Appendix XIX.

² Arms ; *Arg.* semée of cross-crosslets *gu.* a fesse dauncettée of the last.

³ Manning's Surrey, vol. ii. p. 744. When Domesday was compiled, William de Watville held 5½ hides of the abbot of Chertsey ; and in temp. Henry III. Robert de Watville held of the same monastery one-fourth of a knight's-fee in Assere (Esher).—*Id.*

⁵ The entire genealogy of the Strensham branch is given by Nash, in his "History of Worcestershire," vol. ii. p. 395.

A.D. 1209. mit an act of manslaughter, his land was escheated, and one virgate alienated to his father, to his brother Iweyne, and Agatha his sister.¹ Of Patrick, Agatha, and Iweyne, nothing more is to be gathered.

But the seventh son, Robert, as appears by an entry in the tenth year of King John, A.D. 1209, fined in four palfreys to have the royal charter for ten virgates of land which Helen de Papworth held, by the service of feeding daily two poor persons for ever, for the soul of the king and his ancestors; whilst Helen and Walter her son counterfined in twenty marks and a palfrey, to have an inquest to ascertain whether these lands, whereof she was disseised, were her right and inheritance by descent, or whether she held them in almoigne, by the above-named tenure. The king accepted Robert Russell's fine;² nevertheless, a jury was empanelled to ascertain whether the grant which the king made to Robert Russell of Kimbolton was in his power thus to dispose of; and it was found, by repeated evidences sworn before the justices itinerant, that, except a virgate and half which Helen held of Richard de Coniton, it was of the king's free gift.³ In the following year, it appears by the abstract of a trial recorded in the Plea-rolls, that Robert Russell and Richard the parson had disseised Henry de Mara and his wife Petronilla of common pasture and turbary of his marsh in Cotes and Beniton, in Nottinghamshire.⁴ He gave one virgate of land, with its appurtenances, in Weston, to the priory of Canons Ashby, by permission of his lord, Hugh de Coleworth;⁵ and was witness, with his brother William, to the

¹ Testa de Nevill, p. 60 *a*. The service for this virgate is stated to have been 5*d*. per annum, but it was then worth a mark.

² Mag. Rot. 10 John. Rot. 9 *a*. Cant. et Hunt. Nova Oblata.

³ Abb. Plac. anno 9 Reg. Joh. Rot. 2. p. 56 *a*.

⁴ Abb. Plac. p. 64 *b*.

⁵ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 292.

charter of Geoffrey le Sauvage to Pollesworth monastery, in A.D. 1209. Warwickshire.¹ He died about the year 1249, when inquisition was taken of his lands in Hunts and Cambridgeshire,² whereof livery was afterwards made to his son John.

8. Alain, of whose grant to the Knights Templars mention has been already made, executed, in 1269, the following charter, which is interesting, as one of the last tokens of authority exercised by the Russell family on points connected with their Norman fief of Rosel.

“ Be it known to all men, present and future, who may see the present letters, that I, Alain de Rosel, for the good of my soul and those of my ancestors, have conceded and confirmed to God, the church of St. Stephen at Plessis Grimould, and the prior and canons there serving God, the donation and alms which Ralph de Brae, the clerk, has given to the said fraternity; namely, seven sextaries of wheat at the manse of Rosel, and one capon, with the service of Thomas de Bray upon one manse, and the whole tenement of my fee which he held of Ralph de Brai at Rosel, as it lies in length and breadth: which manse is situated between the house of Richard, the smith, on the one side, and of Thomas de Brai on the other. And I will and concede to the prior and canons there, authority over these benefactions, in case the wheat is not rendered annually in September, and the capon at Christmas. And be it known, that if Thomas or his heirs shall devise the manse and tenement which Ralph de Brai has held of the aforesaid canons, the prior and convent shall hold them of us, and pay us the rents and lawful services just as Thomas and his heirs engaged to do. And that this may remain for ever firm and stable, I, Alain de Rosel, have guarded the present letters with the corroboration of my seal. Done in the year of grace, 1253, and in the month of January.”³

Normandy had, for some years before this period, been detached from England, and such of her knights as had still

¹ New. Dug. vol. ii. p. 366 *b*. ² Inq. post Mort. vol. i. p. 5. 33 H. III.

³ Cart. Plessis, vol. ii. Charter 1269. . Appendix XX.

A.D.
1212-13.

possessions there, exercised over them at best but a dubious jurisdiction. Policy might dictate to some one of the family the act of homage for them to the King of France; and under this security, the rest might still enjoy for a season the proceeds of their lands and lordships. But the bonds of intercourse between England and Normandy were annually becoming weaker; and in a few more years, nothing remained of their Norman fiefs to the descendants of those warriors who triumphed on the plains of Hastings, but Memory, and the shadow of a mighty name.

ODO DE RUSSELL.

It is difficult to account for the entire obscurity that hangs over the life of Odo de Russell. Not a single act of his has come to light, either by the evidence of public records, or by reflection from domestic or monastic grants. He is known only by the incidental mention of him in a royal patent, conferring upon John, his son, the advowson of a church in Gloucestershire.¹ He is stated to have been resident on the family estate at Berwick, in the fourteenth year of John, 1212-3;² and as this patent is dated on that year, the account may be correct. But the authority of other evidences shews, that, in addition to this son, the only one noticed by our heralds, he must have left a second, namely, Hugh, sometimes surnamed of Wotton, and no fewer than three daughters, Avicia, Galiena, and Segilia or Cecilia.

By an inquisition in the Hundred Rolls,³ which leaves, however, the time when the incident occurred uncertain, it

¹ Vide Cat. Rot. Pat. p. 4 a; and Appendix XXI.

² Jacob's Peerage, vol. i. p. 215.

³ Vol. ii. p. 42 a, taken 39 H. III.

appears that Hugh Russell, of Wotton, and his brother John, .D. 1233. were accused of hunting in the king's forests in Oxfordshire, but were acquitted by the Lord John Mansel before Reginald de Mohun, then justiciary of the forest. In the sixth of John, A.D. 1203-4, the prior and convent of Daventry leased three virgates and a capital messuage at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, to Hugh de Russell, for his life; and a moiety of them for the life, should she survive him, of his wife Felicia, the daughter of Hubert.¹ He became resident at Fawsley; and the whole manor, with its liberties and customs, was afterwards alienated to him by the king at a fee-farm rent of 15*l.*, which was the Domesday valuation.² In 1221, he fined in eighty marks to Henry the Third, to have a confirmation of the manor, five of which he yet owed in 1229.³ In 1233, he paid scutage for certain fees at Berkhamstead, as parcel of that Honour.⁴ Of John de Poher, its possessor, he purchased the manor of Preston⁵ Capes, near Northampton, whence, by charters without date, he made the following benefactions to Bisham priory, in Berkshire, founded by William de Montacute.

“ Know all men, present and future, that I, Hugh Russell, have remitted and quit-claimed, and by this my charter have confirmed to the monks of Bitlesden all the right which I and my heirs have, or may have, in my park of Preston, moated and enclosed as it is, near the city to the north (Northampton). So that, on the gage of my good faith, we will neither do, nor permit any molestation or injury to be in any respect done them there-

¹ Coll. MSS. Claud. D. xii. f. 1046; and Hatton MSS. “Fin. 6 Joh.”

² Test. de Nevill, p. 171.

³ “Fin. Rot. 12 Hen. III. m. 2;” and Dods. MSS. 15, p. 114 *b*.

⁴ Test. de Nevill, p. 131.

⁵ Baker's North. p. 378.

A.D. 1234. upon. Witnesses, Simon de Beinell, the present sheriff, Ralph de Bassingburn, and many others.”¹

Simon de Beinell was probably the same individual as Simon de Lauchmore, who was sheriff of Berkshire the 22d and 24th of Henry the Third.

“ To all the faithful in Christ, who may see or hear the present writing, Hugh Russell wishes health in the Lord ! Be it known to all, that by the impulse of God, and for the health of my soul and those of my wife and all my ancestors, I have conceded and quit-claimed for myself and heirs, to God, the blessed Mary of Bitlesden, and the monks there serving God, a virgate of land in Preston, near that which was Ralph Atcastle’s, to have and hold, free and quit for ever by me and my heirs : in testimony whereof, I have caused my seal to be affixed. Witnesses, Geoffrey, prior of Ashby, and several others.”²

The name of Geoffrey de Helmedon occurs as prior of Canons Ashby, in the 28th of Henry the Third;³ but this charter must have been executed before, as Hugh Russell died in 1234. On that year, his manor of Fawsley was accordingly seized by the sheriff on the king’s behalf; but was shortly restored to his great nephew, Hugh de Capes, to whom he had given it during his lifetime.⁴ To the same Hugh de Capes, in the year 1239, Robert le Provost, with Galiena, his wife, sister of Hugh Russell, and Cecilia, of Thorp-Mundeville, widow of Osmund de Parmenter, of King’s Sutton, a second sister, severally released by fine a third part of two carucates in Fawsley, a carucate and half in Preston, rents in Whitfield, Badby, and Northampton, half a knight’s-fee at Lubenham, in Leicestershire, and one carucate at Bloxham, Oxon.⁵

¹ Bitlesden Cartulary, p. 165. Harl. MSS. Cod. 4714.

² *Ib.*

³ New Dug. vol. vi. p. 442.

⁴ “ Claus. 19 H. III. m. 20.”

⁵ “ Fin. 24 H. III.” Hatton MSS.

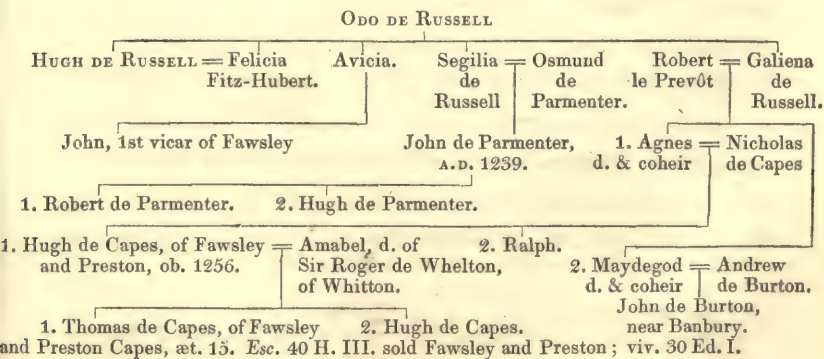
The third sister, Avicia, married into a family of Worcester- A.D. 1200.
 cestershire, and was the mother of John, first vicar of
 Fawsley.¹

JOHN DE RUSSELL.

Upon the death of his father, John de Russell succeeded to the Dorsetshire estate. In the year 1200, between the time of agreeing upon the treaty of peace with Philip of France, and its ratification in May,² King John passed over into England; and in order to raise the 20,000 marks, which he was to pay to Philip, laid a tax of three shillings on each hide, or rather carucate, throughout the kingdom.³ In the Pipe Roll of that year, John Russell rendered account of 12*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* for his charter on the debts of Aaron, and paid into the exchequer 20*s.* as a portion of it.⁴ For to meet the present exigencies, the Jews of England were compelled to fine in 4000 marks for the confirmation of their charters, which were not delivered to them till they had given full security

¹ DESCENT FROM RUSSELL.

Cotton MSS. Claud. D. XII. f. 111; and Baker's North. p. 378.

² Rymer, vol. i. p. 119.³ Carte, p. 789.⁴ Rot. Pip. 2 Joh. m. 2.

A.D. 1207. for payment;¹ and the debts due to Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, which, with his effects, had been seized in the 33d of Henry the Second, were uniformly entered on the rolls for the king's profit,² whilst writs of summons to levy these debts for the king, had been issued out of the exchequer; so that it might be necessary for such as had borrowed money of the celebrated Aaron,³ to have the royal writ, if they wished for any respite. John de Russell's respite appears to have extended to the ninth year of John, 1207-8, when he is stated on the rolls⁴ to owe and render his account for 8*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* of the debt of Aaron, to have paid into the treasury six marks, and to have had the king's writ for quittance of the rest.

In the third year of John, 1201-2, he fined in fifty marks to marry Rohesia, the sister of Doun Bardolf,⁵ five of which were still left owing in 1207-8, when he rendered his account to the exchequer, upon payment towards his debt of eight marks and a half.⁶ His marriage must, however, have taken place before the entry of his fine, as in the Plea-rolls of the second year of John, there is an abstract of a suit between John Russell and Rohesia, his wife, on the one hand, and Henry de Pomeroy on the other, relative to certain lands in Devonshire and Cornwall; which being argued at the Michaelmas term, it was finally agreed that Ayscombe and Stockledge should remain to John and Rose, and Uppotori to Henry de Pomeroy.⁷ But subsequently there arose a question as to the advowson of Stockledge, which was argued on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, against the abbot of Val. The abbot appeared, and said that there was no ground for

¹ Madox Excheq. p. 155.

² He is introduced in "Ivanhoe."

³ Rot. Pip. 3 Joh.

⁷ Abb. Rot. Plac. p. 30 *a.*

² Id. p. 158.

⁴ Rot. Pip. 9 Joh. m. 1. Sudhanton.

⁶ Id. 9 Joh. m. 1. Dors. et Sum.

⁸ Arms; *azure*, 3 cinquefoils *or.*

the claim, and offered the charter of Henry de Pomeroy, jun. A.D. 1204. to the court, wherein it was stated that he possessed the dues, and conceded the gifts, which Josceline his grandsire and Henry his father had made to St. Mary du Val, of the churches in their fee, Stockledge being of the number; charters confirmed by Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter. On the other hand, the plaintiffs, John and Rohesia, contended, that since those charters, Rose, the mother of Henry, who held the land where the church was situate in dowry, had made a presentation:¹ but what decision was come to on the pleadings does not appear.

Doun Bardolf, of whom mention has been made, was a baron of considerable renown. He had large possessions both in England and Normandy, and was a benefactor to the Norman abbey of Blanchland, as well as the descendants of Roger de Barneville.² In 1204, when Normandy was virtually lost to England, preferring, as it would seem, his English to his Norman fiefs, he was one of those who neither appeared, nor took notice of the citation to do homage to Philip, and thus his estates in Normandy were confiscated.³ In England, his possessions were such, that Beatrice de Warren, his widow, gave three hundred marks for the livery of her father's lands, for her reasonable dowry, and that she might not be compelled again to marry. It was not till the grant of Magna Charta that reliefs of this nature were fixed at the fourth of the annual value of a fief. Before that

¹ Abb. Rot. Plac. 15 John. Rot. 17, p. 90 a.

² In the abstracts of charters to Blanchland abbey, in the Bib. du Roi at Paris, MSS. Boze, No. 1027, are the following entries:

Page 4. "Carta Dodonis Bardouf de 4 marcis argenti apud Flingueamo." (Flintham, Notts.)

Page 67. "Carta Dodonis Bardo de Herovillâ, quomodo dedit Ecc. de Herovillâ, Michaeli capellano Thomæ Bardol." ³ Duchesne Scrip. App.

A.D.
1215-16.

period, the amount depended, in a great degree, on the arbitrary pleasure of the monarch ; and the fine of Beatrice, whilst it bears evidence to the opulence of her family, may serve to give a glimpse of the intolerable grievances that had accumulated under the feudal system, by the king's rapacity and exaction. This spirit pervaded every department of finance : and the right which the king exercised of compelling his female wards to marry, even against their own wishes, upon pain of forfeiting the sum which any one would advance for the alliance, became an equally fruitful source of injurious extortion. John de Russell might congratulate himself upon obtaining his affianced bride at a price so low, when Peter de Mauley, his contemporary, could only marry the object of his affection or ambition by an oblation of seven thousand marks. His alliance with Rose Bardolf was doubtless such as to add both to his influence and reputation ; as we find him, in a few years, holding offices under the crown of considerable trust. It may be conceived, however, that the court of John presented few attractions to one who must have remembered with admiration the generous chivalry of Cœur-de-Lion, and the exploits of his own ancestors ; and, accordingly, if we except the advowson of Puleham church,¹ we meet with no account of service rendered, or recompense received from a prince who was every day becoming more despicable in the eyes of Europe.

In 1215-6, a year to be had in perpetual remembrance for the grant of Magna Charta, John de Russell purchased,

¹ Rot. Pat. 14 Joh. m. 2, n. 5. It belonged to the abbey of Cirencester, had then lapsed, and was in the king's gift ; but the grant appears conditional, viz. if the yearly value were not rated at more than five marks. Vide Appendix XXII.

on the death of James de Newmarch, the custody of his lands in Berkshire, with the wardship of his two daughters, co-heiresses; marrying Isabel, the one, to his son Ralph, and Avicia, the other, to John de Botterel;¹ whilst for the marriage of Maud, their mother, Otho Fitz-William, in 1216, fined in six palfreys to the king, *in case she should consent to the proposal*.² The insertion on the roll of this express condition is worthy of remark, as it shews that the article of the Great Charter, which specifies that no widow shall be *obliged* to marry, if she gives security that she will not contract marriage without the consent of her feudal lord,³ had already commenced its salutary operation.

King John died on the 19th of October, 1216, surviving those enactments but a short time, and this embittered by alternate grief and rage, which, like the vultures of Prometheus, seem to have preyed upon his heart, in a fierce impatience of the trammels with which his barons had enchained him. The stormy elements of civil discord, though somewhat lulled by the late grant, were still far from being dispersed; and, from the tender age of young Prince Henry, they might have led to fresh convulsions, had they not been controlled, and directed to good issues, by the genius of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; who, being by general assent named guardian of the kingdom, procured the barons' consent to Henry's coronation, and promulgated anew the Charter of Liberties, with every sanction that could lend it weight in the eyes of the nation. It gives us no mean idea of the merits of John de Russell, that he was summoned by this wise and

¹ After the death of her first lord, Avicia de Newmarch married Nicholas de Moels, and conveyed to him the purparty of her inheritance, consisting, among other lands, of Cadbury and Saperton in Somersetshire.

² Rot. Fin. 1 Henry III. m. 3. ³ Mag. Chart. art. xvii.

A.D. 1218. patriotic baron to fill the office of seneschal in the young king's establishment. The earl had married Isabel, the daughter of Richard Strongbow; and, in addition to his personal esteem of De Russell, he might be glad to evince his sense of the services rendered to his family by the swords of his ancestry in Ireland. The name of John de Russell has thus become associated with the celebrated barons who composed his council, in one or two public transactions connected with the king's estates: but before narrating them, we may cite the following writ from the Close Rolls of 1218, the second year of Henry the Third:—

“The King to his chamberlain, health! We command you, in the sight of legal witnesses, to cause John Russell, Eustace Grenville, Walter de Verdun, Adam de Stuteville, and Hugh de Spenser, our knights, to have five robes of green or burnet; namely, a tunic and mantle, with supertunics of fine linen.”¹

In 1220, May 17th, soon after his second coronation, the young king repaired to York, to confer with Alexander, king of Scotland, on a firm peace between the two kingdoms. A treaty was there signed on the 15th of June, whereby Henry promised to give to Alexander his eldest sister Jane in marriage, at Michaelmas, if, by that time, he could get her into his hands; but if this were found impracticable, then, within fifteen days after, to bestow, in her place, his younger sister Isabella. He engaged also to provide befitting husbands for Margaret and Isabel, the sisters of Alexander, by the feast of St. Denys, in the same year, or, within one month after, to return them in safety to the Scottish court. And upon these articles were sworn commissioners the Earls of Warren and Albemarle, John Russell, Hugh de Bolebec,

¹ Claus. 2 Henry III. m. 14.

Osbert Giffard, Roger Bertram, with Hubert de Burgh, his A.D. 1220.
justiciary, and other barons,¹ with all good faith to carry the
pacific purpose into full effect.

There were difficulties, however, in the execution of this treaty: for the Princess Jané had been promised by the late king to Hugh, count of La Marche, and sent to his court till she should attain a marriageable age. In the meantime, Isabel of Angoulême, the queen-mother, who had been originally designed for him, went over to Poictou, and re-awaking his present ambition or his past regard, received the hand that was destined for her daughter. The count was just returned from the siege of Damietta; and Henry now required him to restore the princess to the commissioners whom the council had appointed, and, in order to secure his compliance, sent to the Pope for a bull of excommunication, in case he should refuse. But the count demanded first to be put in possession of the Honour and castle of Berkhamstead, with all the other lands and rents in England and Guienne that had been settled on his wife for jointure. Some time was lost in the discussions on this point; but in the following April, the conditions were complied with,—the princess was restored, and her nuptials were solemnised at York. At the same time, Hubert de Burgh married Margaret, the sister of Alexander; but no suitable match presenting itself for Isabel, she was sent back to her brother, after a year's continuance at the English court.

Whilst engaged in conducting the measures that seated one princess on the throne, John de Russell had the honour of becoming also the chief surety to conditions guaranteeing

¹ Viz. Robert de Ros, Faukes de Breant, William de Cantilupe, William de Lancaster, Jeffrey de Neville, Ralph de Turbeville, Robert de Vaux, and Philip de Albini.—*Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 240, 1.

A.D. 1220. to another the observance of her rights. Berengaria, the celebrated bride of Cœur-de-Lion, who had followed him in all his enterprises upon Ascalon and Acre, survived him, and was living still. In 1201, when the late king was at Chinon, she had sued him for her dowry, and had had assigned her, with the city of Bayeux and its dependencies, and two castles in Anjou, the promise of an annuity of one thousand marks of silver.¹ This agreement John had violated, with his usual disregard of principle, and he even seemed to pay but small attention to the thunders of the Vatican.² Now, however, her claims were considered with a real view to their settlement; and articles were drawn up, for the equitable fulfilment of which, “we have promised,” says the monarch, “by the counsel of Pandulph, the lord bishop elect of Norwich, legate of the apostolic see, and the advice of our archbishops, bishops, and barons, and have caused our seneschal, John Russell, to be sworn into our resolution, that we will, with perfect integrity and good faith, observe inviolably the provisions we have made, and will guarantee and defend the lady queen to the best of our power, the whole term of our life, against knight and dame, in the peaceful possession of her rights.”³

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 124.

² “For eight years and more,” says the indignant Pontiff, “we have been patiently expecting that, in compliance with our prayers and admonitions, thou wouldst, for thine own weal and honour, give the queen satisfaction on her dowry; but with so little effect, that thou art not more careless of satisfying her, than unwilling to render justice before those assessors to whom we have so frequently referred her affairs. We will no longer pay deference to man, against the laws of God, who, by the mouth of his prophet, commands us to defend the widow. We allow thee till the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin next ensuing, to present thyself, through a suitable procurator, before the apostolic seat; but if we can neither by this indulgence mollify thy rigour, we will take good care to lay on thee a stronger hand.”—*Rymer*, vol. i. p. 152.

³ Rymer, vol. i. p. 243.

Although the Council had taken the precaution to swear A.D. 1224. the barons present at the late coronation, to surrender the castles and custodies with which they were entrusted, at the king's pleasure, there were many who absolutely refused compliance with the order, and some who actually raised the banner of rebellion. Of these were Peter de Mauley, who held the castles of Corfe and Sherborn, with the forests and custodies of Somerset and Dorset.

The person fixed upon to succeed De Mauley in the custody of these two castles was John de Russell; and the town of Corsham was granted for his support whilst he was thus engaged in the king's service.¹ He retained them until the 8th of Henry the Third, the year of his decease; at which time, as well as for the year preceding, he was sheriff of Somerset, by election of the people—a right of appointment which, being purchased of the crown by repeated oblations, speaks highly in favour of their public spirit. Before the conclusion of the year 1224, by reason of his death, the sheriffs of Wilts, Dorset, and Gloucester, were ordered to take into their custody the lands and wardships held by him,² till his heir should have performed the customary homage. After the death of her lord, Rohesia Russell, at the suit of Ralph de Blundeville, earl of Chester and Lincoln, obtained the king's consent to marry whom she pleased, so that he were a faithful subject of the crown;³ but whether she ever exercised this privilege, or solicited it merely to free herself, as an heiress, from the troublesome solicitations of his courtiers, is not known.

Besides the son who follows, they had a daughter, named Roberta, who was married to Robert de Okelandre, or

^{1 2} Rot. Fin. 8 Henry III. m. 1.

³ Pat. 11 Henry III. m. 6.

A.D. 1224. Oglander, lord of Nunwell in the Isle of Wight, as appears by an inquisition taken after his decease in the year 1246:¹ a knight descended in the sixth degree from Richard, lord of Orglandes, in the Norman barony of Briquebec, who was at the conquest of England, and assisted William Fitz-Osbern in the reduction of that island. By this alliance Roberta Russell became the ancestress of a numerous line of honourable descendants, terminating in Sir William Oglander, the present possessor of the picturesque estate of his progenitors, who bore for their arms, *Azure*, a stork between 3 crosslets fitchée or.

SIR RALPH RUSSELL.

By Isabel de Newmarch,² the family of the Russells came into possession of considerable estates in Somersetshire, Wilts, and Gloucester. Her ancestry we trace to Bernard de Newmarch, who, after signalling himself in the various expeditions of the Conqueror, had assisted in the reduction of a part of Wales, and, on the termination of hostilities, had married the daughter of Prince Gruffyd. The descendants of this potent baron, although they might regret the affront which cost them the entire county of Brecknock, had lands and lordships still sufficient to maintain the dignity of their lineage; for when, in 1205, James, the father of the lady Isabel, succeeded to his brother's estates, two hundred marks were not thought too considerable an oblation by the monarch for the livery of them. Ralph de Russell, doing homage to the

¹ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. 271, where the whole genealogy of Oglander is given. Hutchins describes the lady as the daughter of "Sir *Theobald Russell, lord of Yaverland*," which is an obvious mistake, as the manor of Yaverland was not acquired by the family much before the year 1280, and Sir Theobald Russell was not born until 1304.

² Arms; *gules*, 5 fusils in fesse or.

king, upon his father's death, had restitution of his estates, A.D. 1252. and livery of the purparty of his lady's inheritance.¹ Hitherto the family, holding their principal estate by sergeantry, were free from the requisitions which were served upon the military tenants of the king; but the half-barony of Newmarch being held by knight-service, Sir Ralph was henceforth frequently called on to assist the king in arms, or to compound by scutage for his non-attendance. In 1238, he owed a considerable sum for scutages to the exchequer, of which, by the royal favour, he had first a respite, and finally a remittance.² In 1242, on occasion of the war with France, he, with fifty other great feudatories of the crown, received summons to attend the king with horse and arms, and a suitable retinue, on the expedition to Poitou.³

The marriage of Sir Ralph had been followed by the birth of three sons, and of a daughter named Matilda, whose beauty and endowments marked her out as an object of attraction to Robert Walrond, a young baron of high pretensions and renown. On the death of the great Earl of Pembroke, the custody of nine of the royal castles in Wales was committed to him; he was king's seneschal, and was twice employed on embassies to the court of France. Being then appointed steward of all the forests south of Trent, and governor of Nottingham and Dover castles, he attached himself with ardour to the interests of Henry, and became one of his most active and powerful adherents. Fighting on his side at the fatal battle of Lewis, he obtained a handsome recompense for his losses, when the victory of Evesham, in which he was a participator, placed it in Prince Edward's

¹ Claus. 8 H. III. m. 3. ² Rymer, vol. i. p. 405.

³ Mich. Rec. 22 H. III. Rot. 2. Som. et Dors.

⁴ Arms; barry of 8 *arg.* and *azure*, over all an eagle displayed *gules*.

A.D. 1257. power to reward his fidelity and valour. His overtures to the Lady Maud were accepted, and their nuptials were now celebrated, Sir Ralph settling on her his manor of Derham in Gloucestershire.¹ This alliance with a noble who took so prominent a part in Henry's affairs, would naturally bring with it to Sir Ralph some portion of the royal favour. In 1252 he received letters patent, conferring on him, for term of life, the privilege of hunting the hare, the wild cat, and the fox, in all the royal forests in Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, without let or hindrance of the forest-rangers;² and in 1263 he was made sheriff of Wiltshire, in a time of considerable ferment and alarm. But, previously to this, his military services were again put under requisition. The Welch, under their prince Llewellyn, impatient of the oppressions which they suffered from the king's boundless prodigality, had at length recourse to arms; and, invading the English frontiers, bore off, in a number of predatory excursions, much booty, and by these sudden inroads kept the Western Marches in a state of constant inquietude. A general summons was accordingly issued to the military tenants of the crown, and Sir Ralph had orders, with the rest, to be at Bristol by the octaves of the feast of St. Paul, with horse and arms, and all the knights that by his tenure he was bound to bring. Their array was commanded by Prince Edward; but little could be done in the forty days during which the barons were by law obliged to keep the field: the Welch retired at the prince's approach to their usual holds, and, watching the

¹ Esc. 1 Ed. I. n. 6. Celebrated as the site of the great battle fought by Ceaulin the Saxon, in which he slew the three British princes, Commeail, Condedan, and Feriemol; and in Camden's time there were still to be seen there "huge ramparts and trenches, the fortifications of their camp, and other infallible signs of a tremendous battle."

² Pat. 36 Henry III. m. 5.

opportunities furnished by his negligence, fell upon his army, and left, in the numbers which they slew, a terrible token of their valour and independence. A.D. 1257.

After the death of the Earl of Pembroke, Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, were the individuals who principally influenced the actions of the king. The former, if he had not all the power of Pembroke, was equally upright and virtuous, and exerted himself to maintain the authority of the crown against a turbulent nobility, without any great infringement of the people's liberties. But Winchester, to whose misgovernment, when justiciary to the late king, the armed convention of the barons was mainly attributable, was still attached to the most arbitrary principles. When he had succeeded, by a series of disgraceful measures, in the displacement of De Burgh, his insolence, exaction, and assumption, knew no bounds. A Poictevin himself, all offices of state were lavished upon foreigners, justice was perverted, and the estates of obnoxious nobles were confiscated, without even the ceremony of a trial. Under such a counsellor, the most solemn obligations soon ceased to have effect on Henry, whose profuse expenditure and violation of the Charter subjected him to frequent and deserved indignity from his parliament and people. These remonstrances led to frequent promises of redress, which were always finally evaded, until the nobles entered into a second combination, and, being supported by parliament, compelled the king's assent to the well-known provisions of Oxford. It would have been well if they had continued to preserve the wise moderation that marked their first measures, which, tending to the preservation of the public liberties, were highly satisfactory to the nation at large. But the possession of power led them by degrees to abandon the real

A D. 1263. purposes for which they had been constituted guardians of the state; and when the people saw that they sought less to confirm the national interests than to procure for themselves impunity for violence, if not a perpetuity of sovereign authority, the current of their feelings seemed to invite the king to a resumption of his lost prerogatives. Emboldened by the quarrel that arose between Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the Earl of Gloucester, who were the bonds of the baronial confederacy, Henry accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he declared his resolution to resume all the functions of monarchy: he changed his household, placed new governors in his castles, convoked a parliament which ratified his resumption of authority, and in all the counties substituted new sheriffs, "men," says Matthew Paris, "of character and honour."¹

Sir Ralph Russell was fixed upon for Wiltshire. In those times, says Madox,² the sheriffs of counties were usually men of high rank and great power in the realm. To them the king frequently committed, together with the counties, his castles and manors lying within their bailiwick. They provided the castles with ammunition and other necessities; they stocked and improved the manors; the king, in fine, generally trusted them with the collecting of his revenue, and various other powers and jurisdictions. Whilst Sir Ralph fulfilled the office, Simon de Montfort, who had retired into France, arranged a conspiracy in England, and, inviting the Welch to invade the Western Marches, appeared in arms at the head of his numerous partisans, took London, and gave unbounded license to his faction in all parts of England against those who professed any attachment to the party

¹ Page 853.

² Madox Excheq. p. 634.

of the king. He made himself master, by his adherents, A.D. 1267. of Worcester, Bridgenorth, Hereford, and Gloucester; and early in 1263, Sir Ralph thus writes for succour to the king:—

“ Sir Ralph Russell to King Henry the Third.

“ To his most excellent lord, Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, Ralph Russell, his ever-faithful servant, wishes health and constant reliance on his entire fidelity. I apprise your most noble and serene Excellency, that, as I am given to understand, certain of your barons and rebels purpose shortly to march upon your camp at Sarum, with a great multitude of men-at-arms; and as I find but a very few who, for your royal bounty, will interest themselves in its fortification, I entreat your Grace, if it seems good, to send me some assistance, that I may safely keep and defend the same against them; and thus I bid your serene Excellency farewell ever in the Lord!”¹

The king, however, was in no readiness to make head against his enemies; and although it was Montfort's interest, in order to gain the people, to allow him to prosecute hostilities, a truce was mediated, and their differences were by joint consent referred to the King of France's arbitration. His equitable decision would not satisfy Leicester's pretensions; the battle of Lewis consummated his hopes by the capture of the king; and the unprincipled detention of him, after his son had rendered himself prisoner for Henry's redemption, enabled him to practise the same imperious rule against which he had so loudly declaimed. But the subsequent escape of Prince Edward, and the battle of Evesham, put a period at once to his life and his ambition; the prisoners of the royal party

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 773.

A.D. 1267. were liberated from their durance ; and England once more respired from her afflictions.

Sir Ralph remained sheriff nearly two years, as we learn from a view made of his account in the 49th year of the king's reign ; at which time he owed, *de claro*, thirty pounds at Mid-lent, and the residue when he made up his sum, and he had respite given him for this purpose till the Quinzieme of Easter.¹ In 1267 he had letters patent from the king for the apparitorship of Dorset, to be held for term of life, with all the privileges which were enjoyed by his predecessor;² and, with the consent of his heirs, by charter without date, granted one virgate of land in Kingston-Russell, near Longbridy, which was witnessed by William Fitz-John, the Lord Henry de Lideton, Simon de Langbridy, and Nicholas de Winterburne.³ Surviving both his daughter⁴ and his sovereign, he, in the fifth year of Edward the First, received the king's precept to be ready to accompany him in his expedition into Wales, which, owing to his own infirmity, he answered by the service of his son James;⁵ and dying shortly after, transmitted to him, with the family estates, the pride of an uncorrupted integrity and an honourable name.

Sir Ralph had by his lady, Isabel de Newmarch, three sons ; 1. James, 2. Robert, and 3. William.

¹ Memor. 49 Henry III. Rot. 20 *a*, post Compot. Vic. Wiltes.

² Pat. 51 Henry III. m. 18.

³ Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 298.

⁴ His daughter Matilda having no offspring, the estates of Robert Walrond went to his nephew, Alan de Plugenet. Suing for her dowry, she had assigned her, amongst other lands, the manors of Siston and Frompton, in Gloucestershire, Tedlington and Edmonscote in Worcestershire, and Wyke in Devon;¹ but she enjoyed them only for one year. At her death, in 1272-3, the manor of Derham reverted to the Russell family.

⁵ Palg. Mil. Writs, vol. i. p. 183.

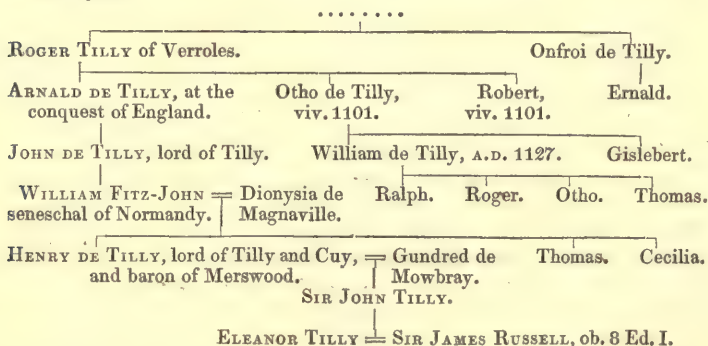
¹ Rot. Claus. 2 Ed. I. m. 12.

1. Sir James married Eleanor, the daughter of Sir John A.D. 1277. Tilly, a descendant of the lords of Tilly and Cuy, in Normandy. Arnald, the son of Roger de Tilly, of Verroles, was at the conquest of England, and his grandson, William Fitz-John, seneschal of Normandy, allied himself with Dionysia, daughter of William de Magnaville, earl of Essex.¹ To Henry, the brother of William Fitz-John de Tilly, King John conceded permission to have all his lands and tenements in England and Normandy peacefully and without plea;² and in 1201 a final concord was made between him and his brother on their dispute relative to the division of their heritage.³ Henry de Tilly, the father of Sir John, was baron of Merswood, in right of his wife Gundred, daughter of Nigel de Mowbray, and was interred in the abbey of Ardenne, near Caen. Sir James Russell appeared as a witness to the great charter of the Countess Emmeline de Lacy, granted to the priory of Canons Ashby at Deneford, on the morrow of St. Vincent,

¹ LINEAGE OF TILLY.

Arms; *argent a cross fleury between 4 crescents gules.*

From MSS. of the Abbé de la Rue, deduced from archives in the Bureau de la Préfecture at Caen, the Tower of London, and monastic deeds in the Diocese of Bayeux.



² Rot. Norm. 2 John, m. 6. vol. i. p. 241.

³ Id. m. 5.

A.D. 1297. 1275.¹ In 1277, July 1, he appeared at Worcester before the earl marshal, and constable of the king's army, on behalf of his father, who was infirm, and proffered the service of one knight's-fee, for a moiety of the barony of Newmarch, in the expedition into Wales, which he performed in person.² He survived his father but a short time, as, in the eighth year of Edward the First, Ralph de Sandwich, sheriff of Dorset, had orders to take into the king's hands the lands *in capite* of which he died possessed.³ And Ralph his son, being from his minority a ward of the crown, the king granted his manor of Horsington, till he came of age, to Humphrey de Waleden, for an annual rent of fifty pounds, and appropriated the rent of his other lands to the use of Eleanor the queen.⁴ He married, early in life, Alicia Murdac,⁵ whose arms were, Bendy of seven, *gules* and *argent*; but died without offspring, about 1295; and his uncle Robert being found his heir, his estates were delivered to him, on his doing homage for their livery.⁶

2. Sir Robert Russell also attended in person the expedition into Wales, which King Edward made in 1277, to chastise Llewellyn for his ravages in England; and the prince being slain in the battle of Llandweyr, a final period was put to the independence of the interesting people whom he ruled, who for eight hundred years had preserved their liberty inviolate, and whose bravery in battle has furnished a fruitful theme of praise to the native harps of Aneurin, Llywarch Hên, and Taliessin. For the means to furnish out his military array in this important service, Sir Robert seems to have been indebted to his elder brother, and to have assigned to him,

¹ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 293 *b*.

² Palgrave's Writs, vol. i. p. 813.

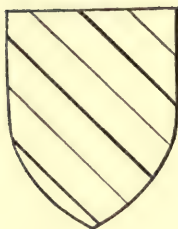
³ Abb. Rot. Or. vol. i. p. 35 *a*.

⁴ Id. p. 31 *b*. ⁵ Inq. 13 Ed. I.

⁶ Id. p. 88.

ARMS. IV.

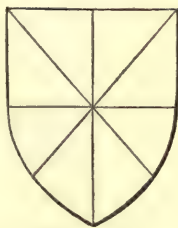
MURDAC.



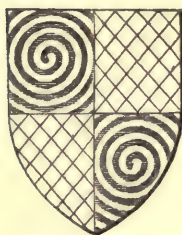
DE AULA.



PEVEREL.



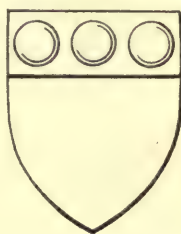
GORGES.



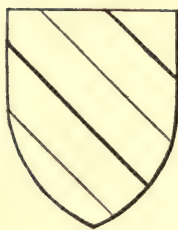
FITZ-JOHN.



RUSSELL OF DERHAM.



HACKET.



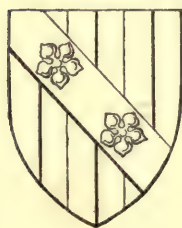
CHELREY.



BRUYN.



STRADLING.



DENNYS.



KEMYS.





in payment of the expense, the proceeds for two years of A.D. 1297. certain lands in Haselbere, in which manor he had been enfeoffed,¹ by the service of a rose to be annually presented at Midsummer.² His name occurs as a witness both to the charter of Robert le Englysche, giving to the priory of Montbourg, with the assent of Julian his wife and the Lord Roger Flandrensis, the land of La Slode for forty shillings sterling; and to the confirmation-charter of his widow Julian, for which the prior was to render to her and her heirs a rent of three shillings at the four principal feasts of the year.³ In 1296 he was summoned to perform military service in person against the Scots, and he appeared accordingly at the muster at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, upon the 1st of March.⁴ But in 1297, Malcolm de Harby, one of the king's escheators, had directions, by reason of his death, to take into the monarch's hands his various estates,⁵ which thus devolved upon the youngest brother, William.

¹ Claus. 9 Ed. I. m. 3.

² Rawl. MSS. vol. ccxvii. p. 20.

³ Cartulary of Montbourg, in the Préfecture at St. Loo.

⁴ Palgrave's Writs, vol. i. p. 813.

⁵ Abb. Rot. Or. p. 99 a.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF PRINCE LLEWELLYN TO THE VISIT OF THE
ARCHDUKE PHILIP OF AUSTRIA.

A.D. 1277-1506.

Sir William Russell... Warden of the Isle of Wight in 1295 and 1302... Marries the Lady of Yaverland... Family of Aula... Receives military summons against the Scots, 1297-8, 1300... His marriage with Jane Peverel, 1303... In the campaign of 1305... Knight of the shire for the county of Southampton... Justiciary for the Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, &c. 1308... His death, 1314... Sir Theobald Russell; a minor... Marries Eleanor de Gorges... Warden of the Isle of Wight, 1309... Repels two invasions... Is slain in its defence, 1341... Sir Ralph Russell, lord of Derham, 1370... His descendants... Sir Theobald Gorges, lord of Wraxhall, 1381... Sir William Russell, lord of Berwick... In Parliament, 1341-8... Accession of the House of Lancaster... Sir Henry Russell, in Parliament, 1425-8-33... In the expedition to Normandy under Lord Talbot, 1438-9... Founds the Guild of Weymouth... Sir John Russell, 1424-32... Liberation of James I. of Scotland... John Russell, Esq... Conspiracy against Richard III. 1424-32... Decline of chivalry... Funeral of James Russell, Esq. 1509.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

A.D. 1257. SIR WILLIAM, the third son of Sir Ralph Russell and Isabel de Newmarch, was born in the year 1257; for when he did homage to Edward the First for livery of the inheritance of his elder brother Robert,¹ he was forty years of age.² At the close of his minority in 1278, he was enfeoffed by his father, shortly before his death, in the manor of Kingston-Russell, to be held of the king in capite, by the ancient service of acting as his cupbearer upon stated occasions; and he rendered his homage accordingly to King Edward the First in the sixth year of his reign.³ And on this his manor, he, in 1284,

¹ Abb. Rot. Orig. 25 Ed. I. p. 99 a.

² Rawl. MSS. vol. ccxcvii. p. 20.

³ Abb. Rot. Orig. 6 Ed. I. p. 31.

obtained the royal charter, dated at Baladynlyn, in Wales, A.D. 1284. for a market every Thursday, and a fair on the evening, day, and morrow, of St. Matthew the Apostle, together with free warren for ever to himself and heirs, with all the attendant customs, rights, and privileges.¹ By his brother's death, he came into possession of the Somerset and Gloucestershire estates, which had formed his moiety of the barony of Newmarch; and his fortunes were still farther heightened by his marriage with Eleanor, the sole daughter and heiress of Thomas de Aula, Lord of Yaverland, St. Laurence, and other manors in the Isle of Wight,—a family of chivalrous renown, and equally distinguished in monastic story.² His

¹ Cart. 12 Ed. I. n. 28.

² LINEAGE OF AULA.

Arms; *sable*, 3 goats'-heads erased, *argent*.

I find no writer who gives any account of the members of this family, although they appear to have been originally of baronial dignity. My own researches trace them to the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen. It was then that

1. HENRY DE AULA, HULLA, or HALLA, flourished, who became a witness to William de Moyon's confirmation-charter of the church and lands at Lyon in Upper Normandy, which his father had granted to the monks of Briwetton priory: ¹ whilst the name of his brother, Geoffrey de Aula, is found attached to a deed of uncertain date, granted by William, bishop of Avranches, who assumed the crosier there from 1184 to 1194. Henry de Aula left three sons, Warine, Thomas, and Roger; the second of whom executed a charter to Quarr abbey, in the reign of Henry III., which was witnessed by Waleran, warden of the Isle of Wight;² and the third attested two charters to the same foundation, granted by Geoffrey de Lisle, for the souls of himself and his wife Havicia.³ But the bulk of the ancestral domains devolved apparently upon

2. WARINE DE AULA, as the eldest brother. He, upon the aid demanded by Henry II. for marrying the Princess Maud, certified his dues in Devonshire to be of the old feoffment, in the reign of Henry I., for four entire knight's-fees, three halves, three quarters, and one fifth: and that he had

¹ Cartulary of Troarn, p. 6 b.

² Worsley's Isle of Wight. App. p. lxxxii.

³ Id. p. cxxviii.

A.D. 1294. marriage must have taken place before the year 1280, as we find him termed the Lord of Yaverland in the Schedule of Liberties, claimed by Isabel de Fortibus, lady of the island, in the eighth year of Edward the First.¹ On the occasion of a threatened descent by France upon the southern coasts of England, in 1294, he was joined in commission with the Bishop of Winchester, Adam de Gordon, and Sir Richard de Affeton, as wardens of the island, receiving himself the royal

himself enfeoffed three others, whom he names, in two fees and a fifth.¹ He gave to the Knights Templars one virgate of land at Hulla,² and applied his manor of Bodescumbe to the service of the Sisters of Buckland.³

3. His son, ROGER DE AULA, in the reign of Henry III. witnessed the gift to Quarr abbey of 200 acres of land at Wellow by William de Vernon, earl of Devon;⁴ and in that of Edward I. the charter of Matilda de Lestre, lady of Gatumbe, settling on the same monks six shillings rent from that her manor. He attested also a second charter of William de Vernon, confirming to Montbourg priory, in Normandy, the gifts of Aaliz de Rivers, his grandmother, and granting of his own accord the manor of Wolver in Berkshire.⁵ His sons were, Thomas, the father of the Lady Eleanor, and Robert, whose name occurs in a charter of William de Oglander, lord of Nunwell, to the brethren of St. Mary de Quarr.⁶

4. THOMAS DE AULA figures also as a witness in the cartularies both of Montbourg and of Quarr. For the former abbey he attested a charter of William de Morville, relative to the tithes of Bradpole;⁷ and a grant of Isabel de Fortibus, countess of Albemarle, dated at Carisbrook, in August, 53 Henry III., confirming lands at Lodres, Axmuth, Wolveley, and Wiche, with five pounds rent from her manor of Wroxall, and all the grants that had been made by her predecessors.⁸ For the latter abbey, he witnessed the donation made by Matilda de Lestre, in her widowhood, of a tenement at Godeshall; and, in 1228, other grants of Aaliz and Walter Motte, which are exhibited at length in the pages of Sir Richard Worsley.⁹

¹ "Will. Russel, dñus de Everland, qui filiam et heredem Tho. de Hawle duxit in uxorem, ten vi. feoda et ii. partes feodi de Comitissa in capite, unde tenet in dominico, man. de Everland et Suth Wath Scti Laurentii."—WORSLEY, *App.* p. lxxvii.

¹ Lib. Nig. Scac. p. 124.

² Dug. Mon. ii. p. 530.

³ Id. p. 551 a.

⁴ Worsley, *App.* p. cxxiv.

^{5 7 8} Montbourg Cartulary at St. Loo.

⁶ Worsley, p. cxli.

⁹ Worsley, *App.* p. cxxxiv.

instructions for putting the island in a proper posture of A.D. 1297. defence.¹

His succession to the moiety of the barony of Newmarch caused him to be frequently called on for his military services with the other baronial retainers of the crown, during the reign of Edward the First. In 1297, he was summoned, under the general writ, to the muster at London in person, with horses, arms, and other suitable equipments, on Sunday next after the octaves of St. John the Baptist, to pass over into Flanders with the king.² The appearance of this army, though delayed by the refractory bearing of some of the barons, stayed the conquering progress of Philip le Bel; and a truce succeeded in the autumn, which enabled Edward to bestow his thoughts upon the state of Scotland, where the celebrated Wallace had now risen in arms, and had already rendered his name formidable, by the defeat of the northern barons who were sent to check his progress. Sir William was accordingly required, by the royal writ, to be at York with his array, to meet the king on Whitsunday, the 25th of May, 1298, “to repress the malice, and chastise the haughty hopes of the insurgents;”³ and, entering with the army the western parts of Scotland, he took part in the memorable fight of Falkirk, where, at a loss of only thirty English squires, the Scottish army was entirely routed, and chased over the moors in dreadful disarray. The victory was great; but it did not seal the doom of Scotland. Wallace, by a skilful retreat, preserved the main body of his troops entire: in this stirring contest for his country’s liberty his ardour and his hopes remained unshaken. After the reduction of the southern

¹ Ryley’s *Placita Parl.* p. 441.

² Palgrave’s *Parl. and Mil. Writs*, vol. i. p. 290, 292.

³ *Id.* p. 310.

A.D. 1300. provinces, provisions in the English camp grew scarce ; and no sooner had Edward drawn away his forces than he found his garrisons in the conquered territories afresh harassed by his restless adversary. In the summer of 1300, he accordingly made preparations for another expedition ; and by a fresh commission of array, which was extended to all the military tenants who held lands or rents of the crown, *in capite* or otherwise, to the amount of 40*l.* and upwards yearly value, directed Sir William Russell to meet him at Carlisle on the 24th of June, being the nativity of St. John the Baptist.¹ In this writ of summons his sister-in-law, Eleanor (Tilly) Russell, was equally included, by virtue of the dowry she possessed in Somerset and Dorset ;² but no rolls of the Marshalsea are extant for that year, to shew how she fulfilled the requisition. Sir William, however, joined in the campaign that followed, the invasion of the Western Marches, the maraud of Annandale, and the celebrated siege and conquest of the castle of Caerlaverock. But the Scots avoided a general action ; tempestuous rains set in during the autumn, and Edward availed himself of the King of France's mediation to conclude, in October, a year's truce ; and, dissolving his troops, returned to London. But little was done in the next year's campaign ; the muster, first fixed at Berwick-upon-Tweed, was altered to Carlisle, and " Sir William Russell, *of the Isle*," received the usual writ, to be ready for the march under Edward, Prince of Wales.³ Wintering in Scotland, the army suffered much from the austerity of the frost, and the scarcity of forage ; but of its warlike operations no precise accounts exist.

¹ Palgrave's Parl. and Mil. Writs, vol. i. pp. 336-39.

² Id. p. 337.

³ Id. p. 357.

It must have been gratifying to Sir William to be called A.D. 1302. on to enjoy a few years' respite from these military hardships, even although sharing in that national hostility which prevented his countrymen from sympathising with the Scottish people in their passionate love of country, and generous desire for independence; and his inclination for repose might be still farther increased by the loss of his lady, which he about this time sustained; the saddening recollection of whose virtues appears, however, to have been solaced by one surviving scion from her stem, in the person of a daughter, Nichola, upon whom, on the occasion of her marriage with Nicholas de Mortesthorpe, who possessed lands at Mosterton or Mosterne, Dorset, he, in 1306, settled for term of life the manor of Kingston-Russell,¹ which, with that of Athelington, she held at her death in 1330.² Sir William meanwhile took up his residence at Yaverland: he was appointed by the crown, in 1302, a second time warden of the Isle of Wight, in conjunction with Sir John de Lisle;³ and in this capacity was summoned as witness in an action which the Abbot of Winchcombe had brought against twelve of the king's vassals.⁴ In the year 1303, during this tranquil interval, Sir William entered a second time into marriage, with Jane Peverel, the daughter and coheiress of Robert, Lord of Bradford Peverel, a manor held from the time of Richard the First by that family,⁵ whose arms were, *Girony of eight, gules and argent*. The year 1305 was memorable for the capture and the fall of Wallace; but in the following spring

¹ Inquis. ad quod damnum, 34 Ed. I.

² Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. 298.

³ Abb. Rot. Or.

⁴ Abb. Plac. Rot. p. 251 b.

⁵ Testa de Nevill. In 1297, Edward I. also conceded to Robert Peverel, in fee, sixty-nine acres, &c. of waste land in Whichwood forest, Oxon, for an annual rent of 17s. 5½d.—Cat. Rot. Pat. p. 67 a.

A.D. 1307. the hopes of Scotland were rivetted upon an equally devoted champion: the celebrated Bruce was solemnly crowned king at Scone. Edward acted upon this emergency with his usual decision; he ordered three of his most potent northern barons, Percy, Clifford, and De Valence, to march against his brave competitor; and summoned Sir William Russell, with the rest of his military knights, to muster at Carlisle within fifteen days of the Baptist's nativity, July the 8th, or otherwise to appear, and compound for his services before the barons of the exchequer.¹ Ceremonies of unusual pomp attested the importance of this expedition. The degree of knighthood was conferred with great solemnity upon the Prince of Wales, and many other squires, who were summoned for the purpose. The professors of the *Gay Science*, attired in their richest garments, entered at the brilliant banquet which succeeded; and, with lays adapted to their lyres, called on the assembled knights to make their vows of arms before the Swan. The king commenced; his vow was to avenge, in the first place, the insult of the Bruce, then to revisit Palestine, and never afterwards to assume arms against a Christian monarch. The prince next vowed that he would never sleep two nights in the same place till he should tread the Scottish soil; and the rest, in due succession, according to their fancy, for the love of their ladies, or the admiration of their fellows, obeyed the chivalrous injunction. To defray the expenses of the enterprise, the convocation of barons, knights, and burgesses, granted an extraordinary supply; and Sir William Russell was appointed for the county of Southampton,² in collection of an *aid*, which Edward, in virtue of the ancient usage of

¹ Palgrave's Parl. and Mil. Writs, vol. i. p. 377.

² Palgrave's Writs, vol. i. p. 179.

his predecessors, whenever the heir-apparent of the crown A.D. 1307. was made a knight, additionally set on foot. Thus provided, the king and queen set forward towards Scotland, and his summoned knights proceeded to the muster; but meanwhile the border barons had met the Scots at Methven, and, before Edward reached the place of rendezvous, he heard with satisfaction of the defeat and flight of Bruce. It was the latest triumph he enjoyed: weighed down with infirmities and the fatigues of travel, he expired at Burgh upon the Sands on the 7th of July, 1307.

The formalities consequent upon this grave event prevented Prince Edward's active prosecution of the war. Being proclaimed king at Carlisle by the assembled barons, he summoned a parliament to meet him at Northampton: to which, by writ of election tested from Comnock, in Scotland, August 26, and returnable within fifteen days of St. Michael, the 13th of October, Sir William Russell was chosen for the county of Southampton:¹ and having thus duties to perform of a more strictly civil nature, he relinquished his custody of Carisbrook castle and the Isle of Wight, which was thereupon transferred to Nicholas de Bois, to be held with the same privileges which Sir William had enjoyed² during his long possession of that trust.

The election of Sir William Russell to serve in parliament, first in 1295, under the late reign, as a burgess for East Bedwin,³ where the family, from a very early period held a fee, by service of furnishing the king with two vessels of wine at the four annual festivals,⁴ and now as a knight of the shire for Southampton, is the first event in the family history which

¹ Palgrave's Writs, vol. ii. div. i. p. xlv.

² Abb. Rot. Or. p. 154.

³ Palgrave's Writs, vol. i. p. 45.

⁴ Inq. 12 and 13 Jno. in *Dodsworth's MSS.* v. 45-7. p. 107. Oxf.

A.D. 1307. marks the change that had been wrought, or that was yet taking place, in the ancient feudal fabric. The ancient heads of the house were at no period entitled as barons by tenure to take a share in the great national council; for the barony of Newmarch, which gave the title, became subdivided by the marriage of its two coheiresses; and after the battle of Evesham came the law which prohibited all but such barons as were specially invited by the king from appearing in his parliaments. The whole baronage thenceforward held their seats by writ; and the greater and the minor barons became gradually blended,—a stroke of admirable policy on the king's part, as it greatly broke the power of the haughtier and more potent nobles: it was by a writ of this nature that Sir Robert, the elder brother of Sir William, had been summoned to the parliament of the twenty-fourth of the late king's reign.¹ It is probable, however, that necessity had originally as great a share as policy in dictating this arrangement. For as the king could no longer levy an assessment in the ancient seignorial way, and his scutages had much diminished by the inaccuracy with which the rolls were kept, the various evasions practiced to elude, and the difficulty which even the barons of the exchequer laboured under in collecting them, from the many subinfeudations that had taken place, which led to perpetual disputes, the sovereign was driven to call his military tenants to a parley, in which the amount of escuage or service could be adjusted by mutual accord. Of the long continuance and perplexing nature of these disputes, a strong proof is furnished by the fact, that in 1299 Sir William Russell was called on to account for certain scutages upon his moiety of the barony of Newmarch, which were stated to be due so far

¹ Dug. Sum. ad Parl. p. 15.

back as 1277 from Ralph, the son of his eldest brother James. A.D. 1307. But it plainly appearing, by inspection of the rolls of the Marshalsea, that the equitable claims of the crown on that occasion had been duly answered, the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were then commanded by the king to forego the claim, and give him a discharge.¹ The same principle was soon adopted with respect to the tallages which the monarch claimed from the royal boroughs; and writs to the sheriffs to return two deputies from each, who should meet in one assembly to discuss his demands and provide for his necessities, was found a far less cumbrous and lingering process than that of arranging his dues with each respective community. It was from these small beginnings that the third estate of the kingdom rose, which, though at the time Sir William Russell, as a younger son, sat for the borough of Bedwin, it had little power and less dignity, formed the nucleus of an admirable equipoise to the power of the greater barons. The requisition made to the minor barons to choose in each county one or more of their own body, whose expenses they bore, and who, having gained the confidence, carried with them the authority of the whole order, was an extension merely of the same sagacious policy: more tractable than the greater barons, as being more dependent, they repaid the sovereign's countenance by a more willing adoption of his plans, which tended greatly to neutralise the factions raised by the great nobles. These knights of the shire did not then, as now, sit with the deputies of the boroughs, but amongst the other peers, as belonging by their tenure to that order; but in process of time, as the third estate arose in importance, and, in return for their grants to the crown, presented their

¹ Claus. Rot. 27 Ed. I. m. 20; and 9 Ed. I. m. 3.

A.D. 1307. petitions for privileges or redress of grievances, those of even baronial descent thought it no derogation to be blended with the representatives of boroughs. And hence, although Sir William Russell, as one of the earliest knights chosen to represent his order in the county of Southampton, certainly took his seat, in 1307, with the baronage of England, we shall find his grandson, from these and other concurring causes, deliberating as a commoner in parliament, and subsequent members of the family, as the high tone and the usages of chivalry declined, merging the renown and stirring action of the feudal warrior in the peaceful quiet and repose of the good old country knight.

The parliament which met on October 13th at Northampton, took order for the late king's funeral, for the marriage and coronation of the new monarch, and the state of the nation generally; to defray the necessary expenses of these ceremonies, the barons and knights of the shires gave a twentieth of all their goods; and the clergy, citizens, and burgesses, a fifteenth.¹ In 1308, by letters patent, tested at Westminster, May 20th, Sir William Russell was constituted one of the three justiciaries appointed for Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, to inquire, upon oath of the liegemen of those isles, how far the revenues of the crown, in homage, service, and advowsons, in warrens, escheats, and other regal rights, had been encroached on in the two pre-

¹ Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. ii. p. 308. The distinctness, in council as well as in importance, of the two estates and classes of representatives in this session is attested by the account of these taxes preserved in the Pipe Office; for, whilst the *twentieth* granted by "the earls, barons, and knights of Bedfordshire" produced £720. 12s. 7d., the *fifteenth* granted by "the citizens and burgesses and tenants of the crown demesnes for Bedford and the other towns in that county," amounted only to £31. 18s. 4½d. Rot. Pat. 1 Ed. II. m. 3, in Cedulâ.

ceding reigns by lords of manors there.¹ In 1309, by writ A.D. 1309. of military service, tested at Stamford, July 30, Sir William was again required to be ready with horse, with arms, and all his lawful service, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the feast of St. Michael, September 29, to chastise the Scots for their non-observance of the truce. His advanced age would prevent his answering the demand in person ; and on a similar summons, in the following year, we find “the Lord William Russell” at the general proffer of knight-service before Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere, the marshal of the host, at Tweedmouth, September 10, acknowledging the service of one knight’s-fee due to the crown, for his lands in Gloucester, Somerset, and Buckingham-shires, which he offered to be performed by Robert Russell and Robert de Compton, his two *servientes*, with two barded horses.² But ever since the accession of Edward the Second, the war with Scotland had languished ; under his feeble sway the vigorous and indefatigable Bruce made daily inroads on the fortresses and provinces conquered by his father ; and, by these gradual advantages, he was already shaping out the independence which he shortly consummated at Bannockburn. Sir William did not live to witness this ominous eclipse of that national reputation which he aided in achieving ; but died in 1311, leaving an only son, named Theobald, by Jane Peverel, his second lady.

SIR THEOBALD RUSSELL.

At the death of his father, Theobald Russell was a minor, but seven years of age. He was accordingly a ward of the

¹ Plac. de Quo Warranto, vol. i. p. 840.

² Madox’ Bar. p. 213 ; and Palgrave’s Writs, vol. ii. Div. 1. p. 50.

A.D. 1307. crown, and as such his inheritance was disposed of by Edward the Second, in various parcels, to his courtiers or favourites. To John de la Bache he committed the custody of his manor of Yaverland, for a hundred marks and a rent of fifteen pounds, till the heir became of age.¹ To Alicia de Leygrave, his nurse, the manor of Horsington, in Somerset;² to Hugh de Hamslape that of East Bedwin, in Berkshire;³ and the manor of Derham in Gloucestershire, for a fine of two hundred and twenty pounds, to one Richard Damory, who, for the farther sum of fifty marks, was to enjoy the custody for eight years.⁴ That of Kingston, however, was not at the king's disposal, as Edward the First, finding the transfer not to his detriment, had permitted Sir William Russell, in 1306, to grant it for term of life to Nicholas de Mortesthorn and his lady Nichola;⁵ and it is worthy of remark, that when it reverted to Sir Theobald, on his doing homage for the investiture, the terms by which the manor was anciently held were either altered or mistaken; as his service, instead of officiating as cupbearer at the four principal feasts of the year, was stated to be, to place upon the chess-board the chessmen in the king's chamber, and to restore them to their places when the game was finished.⁶ In these arrangements between the king and those to whom he committed the custody of a minor's lands, the interests of the latter were altogether overlooked; and when the heir was out of wardship, he but too frequently found "his woods decayed, his houses fallen down, his stock wasted and gone, and his lands ploughed till they were barren."⁷ To a condition very similar to this the for-

¹ Abb. Rot. Or. p. 194, 6 Ed. II.

² Id. p. 220 *a*, 8 Ed. II.

³ Id. 4 Ed. III. p. 35 *b*.

⁴ Id. vol. i. p. 193 *b*.

⁵ Inq. ad quod damnum.

⁶ Abb. Rot. Or. 3 Ed. III. p. 29 *b*.

⁷ Blackstone, vol. ii. p. 76.

tunes of Sir Theobald seem to have been reduced, during his A.D. 1327. minority; since he was obliged to sue the king and council for a maintenance correspondent with his dignity, as appears by his petition amongst the rolls of parliament, in which, after reciting the articles of Magna Charta, which provide that the king's wards shall have their support from those to whom he shall commit the custody of their lands, Sir Theobald complains that he has received none either from them or from the king. The council paid a prompt attention to his request, and ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to furnish him, in case he were not married, a proper income from the proceeds of his lands.¹

In the year 1313, Sir Theobald Russell witnessed an agreement between John de Weston on the one part, and Pierce d'Evercy and John de Glamorgan on the other, relative to a right of fishery in Brading haven, which Weston claimed and had established:² and in 1323, an indenture of Walter, abbot of Quarr, letting out at fee-farm to the prior and convent of Christchurch, for a rent of eleven pounds, certain meadows, a messuage, and a mill, on their manors of Ningewood and Milford.³ In 1324, having trespassed whilst hunting within the limits of Savernack forest, his wood at East Bedwin was taken into the king's hands till satisfaction should be made.⁴ His minority terminating in 1325, by writ of military summons, tested at Westminster February 20, Sir Theobald received the royal orders, with the other "magnates" of the crown, for the lands which he held in Dorsetshire and Hants, to attend the king at Portsmouth with horse and arms, well furnished and arrayed, for

¹ Guthrie's Peerage, vol. i. p. 248.

² Worsley's I. of Wight, *App.* p. clvi.

³ *Id.* *App.* p. cxxxix.

⁴ Claus. Rot. 17 Ed. II. m. 22.

A.D. 1327. the succour and defence of the duchy of Guienne.¹ But as Edward's object was merely to receive restitution of that province, which the French king would only yield upon homage being done for it in person, we may perhaps conclude that the summons was devised principally to defray the expenses of the voyage. On the 21st of September, 1327, Edward the Second closed his distracted and inglorious reign.

It was probably a few years before this period that Sir Theobald captivated the affections and joined himself in marriage with his first lady, Eleanor, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Ralph de Gorges, whose family derived their surname from a hamlet in Lower Normandy, a few leagues from Carentan, which had sent their first peculiar progenitor, Ranulph de Gorges, to battle at the conquest. By her marriage with Ralph, the son of Ivo de Gorges, of Tamworth, the seventh in descent from this Lord Ranulph, Eleanor, the sole daughter and heiress of Ivo de Morville, lord of Bradpole, brought into his hands the large possessions of this baronial family,—possessions to which Eudo, the grandsire of this Ivo, had made no mean addition, when he took for his bride, Avicia, lady of Wroxall in Somersetshire. A former marriage with the heiress of Foliot of Warleigh, concurred with the alliance above-mentioned to increase the influence which Ralph de Gorges had already acquired by his military reputation. He was one of those who, in the year 1263, were cooped up with King Henry the Third by the disaffected citizens of Bristol; in 1273 he was made governor of Exeter and Sherborn castles; officiated as sheriff of Devon in 1266 and 7; and shared with Prince

¹ Rymer, vol. iv. p. 134.

Edward in the lustre of his expedition to the Holy Land. A.D. 1327. His son, Sir Ralph, the father of the lady who engaged Sir Theobald's affections, equalled in arms the distinction of his father; taking a prominent part in almost all the wars of the First Edward. In Gascony he acted as marshal of the royal army; and is celebrated by the minstrel of the siege of Caerlaverock, as one of the foremost chieftains who, in 1300, sat down with their chivalry before that noted fortress.¹ In 1305 he, with Eleanor his lady, sealed a deed with a scutcheon of lozengy, the Morville arms, and a cross moline placed alternately and circularly round the seal, and, after some benefactions to the Norman abbey of Montbourg, expired, November 29, 1324. His only son, Sir Ralph, very soon followed him to the grave, unwedded or without offspring; and hence, in right of Eleanor his lady, Sir Theobald Russell now concentrated the whole accumulated possessions of this ancient and honourable house.

How long Sir Theobald enjoyed her companionship is not to be ascertained: but it could have been only for a brief period, as he himself died in the flower of his manhood, after a second marriage with Eleanor, the daughter and coheirress of John de la Tour. The ancient arms of the Gorges were, *Argent*, a whirlpool *azure*; but, since they had become the representatives of the De Morvilles, they had borne also, as

¹ There more than once the new-dubbed knight
Sir Ralph de Gorges I saw, hemmed round,
And by the press, and by the flight
Of stones, as often beat to ground:
For to recede was what his ire
And pride too nobly scorned to do,—
He had his harness and attire
All mascalloy of gold and blue.

Vide NICHOLAS'S *Siege of Caerlaverock*.

A.D. 1337. we gather from the minstrel of Caerlaverock siege, the Morville coat, which was lozengy *or* and *azure*.

In the year 1329, Sir Theobald Russell was appointed one of the wardens of the Isle of Wight; and in 1337, when Edward prepared for the invasion which led to the memorable battles of Crecy and Poitiers, he was again nominated for the safe custody and defence of that important station; being constituted, by the royal letters, captain and leader of all the forces there against the common enemy, if, as he had already invaded the isles of Guernsey and Jersey with fire and sword, committing the most dreadful ravages, he should dare to set foot within these kingdoms.¹ In fulfilment of this charge, Sir Theobald was empowered to levy and array every man capable of defending the coast, both within and without the Liberties, and to arrest and imprison all such as should manifest any reluctance or negligence in averting the danger. Repeated orders were issued to the sheriff of Hants, and all other officers of the king, to answer his authority with the utmost submission and assistance, and, in conclusion, an entire reliance is expressed on Sir Theobald's fidelity and circumspection.² The French king had already gathered together a considerable navy for the purpose of making a descent on England, and in the April of 1338 a body of men landed from their galleys at Portsmouth, and committed considerable ravage. Edward, understanding that the navy was sailing for the Isle of Wight, sent farther orders to Sir Theobald and his wardens, urging them to be prepared with all their forces, horse and foot, to repel the incursion; to put the fortifications in a state of perfect security against

¹ Rymer, vol. v. p. 22. Writ tested from the Tower, July 10. Gasc. Rot. vol. i. p. 85.

² Id. vol. v. p. 24.

attack ; to compel those who, with their goods and families, A.D. 1338. had fled upon the first alarm, to return, and resolutely guard their lives and liberties ; to oblige all ecclesiastics, bishops as well as abbots, who held their lands or benefices by military service, to furnish their proper number of men-at-arms and archers ; and to seize into the king's hands the persons and possessions of all such as should either not return to their duty, or should disobey his orders ; that thus the proper measures might be carried into effect for the salvation of the island.¹

On the 4th of October, a few months after Edward had set sail for France, fifty galleys, well manned and furnished, landed at Southampton, and sacked the town. But the inhabitants, being reinforced from the adjoining country, made head next morning against the pirates, and slaying upwards of three hundred, obliged the rest to regain their vessels, with the loss of their commander. He was a son of the King of Sicily, and had been promised by the French king possession of all the conquests he should make in England. Being beaten down in the skirmish by a yeoman of the country, he yielded himself prisoner, and cried out "Rançon !" but the countryman, neither understanding his foreign speech, nor acquainted with the law of arms which entitled the conqueror to ransom from his captive, stubbornly exclaimed, "Yea ; I know thou art a Françon, and therefore shalt thou die !" and so saying, instantly despatched him with his club.

This repulse of the enemy did not, however, long retard the meditated attack upon the isle. About the Feast of Pentecost, in the same year, a like array of pinnaces and galleys from Normandy and Genoa mustered round the

¹ Gasc. Rot. vol. i. p. 89. Writ dated 6th and 15th April.

A.D. 1341. island; but so well had Sir Theobald fulfilled the king's instructions,¹ so prepared was he at all points with his men-at-arms and archers, that after making a few fierce, but ineffectual attempts to land, they sailed away towards places less defended, and landing at various villages and harbours, spread great consternation on the southern coasts of England.

But in 1341 a more serious event took place. A considerable sail of galleys made their appearance off the island, and disembarking near St. Helen's point, marched on into the interior. In this descent, Sir Theobald performed the part of an active and heroic captain. He marshalled his forces, and stimulating them by his eloquence to a brave and resolute defence of their liberties and lives, led them on to the attack. The conflict, although desperate, was soon decided: animated by the voice, and yet more by the valour of their general, the islanders charged the foe with the utmost impetuosity, and, with great slaughter, compelled them to fly to their vessels, set sail, and steer away. But the victory cost the natives dear; for Sir Theobald, in the heat of action, received a mortal wound, under which he lingered for a few days, and then expired,² leaving behind him, in their memory, at the early age of 32, an estimation and renown which no after fulfilment of their expectations could probably have heightened. Embalmed with their tears, his body was taken to the little church of Yaverland, which the piety either of his father or himself had built,³ and was there honourably interred.⁴

¹ Writ tested by Edward, duke of Cornwall, custos of England, at Walthamcross, July 2. Gasc. Rot. vol. i. p. 104.

² Stowe's Chron. p. 237, which calls him by mistake Sir Peter.

³ Worsley's Isle of Wight, p. 201.

⁴ "Turning to the right after passing through the village of Brading, through shady lanes which sweep around its haven, we gained an eminence upon which stood the little village of St. Helen's. Our road across the

Sir Theobald, by his first lady, Eleanor de Gorges, had A.D. 1341.
 three sons, 1. Ralph, 2. William, and 3. Theobald; and a
 daughter, Eleanor, married to John Fitz-John.¹ Of this
 offspring, 2. William survived his father but two years: at
 his death, in 1342-3, upon inquisition of the escheators, he
 was found to hold of the king *in capite*, as of the honour of
 Carisbrook Castle, the manor of Knighton-Gorges, by military

village-green was terminated by the brow of a hill, amongst the trees of which was seen the ruined church—the sea expanding below, enlivened by a number of vessels in the distance. I descended by a winding path to the plain, and crossing a rustic causeway, reached St. Helen's point, where, in the reign of Edward III. the Norman pirates landed, and marched forward into the interior, till they were met by the islanders under Sir Theobald Russell, the warden, who, at the expense of his own life, drove them to their vessels. The bay in which they must have entered from the channel was remarkably convenient for the descent, connecting as it does with Brading haven, from which, at the hour we visited it, the sea had ebbed, leaving, however, many vessels at anchor floating on its surface. Here then I was standing upon the spot rendered interesting by so singular an event. To the right ran a small headland, overspread with trees and intermingled cottages; in front the azure sea, and to the left a bolder headland, wild with wood, at the foot of which, with no unpicturesque effect, was seen the ruined church of St. Helen's, which now serves as a mark for seamen. The day was shaded; though not gay, neither was it sad, but had a hue and character in perfect unison with the emotions excited by the scene. A single gull was wheeling over the spot, and its plaintive cry was the only sound that broke the silence of the noon. I could not avoid contrasting its present quiet with the time when the strand resounded with the Norman trumpet recalling to deck the unsuccessful rovers of the sea, nor from indulging in reflections on the flux of time and custom, which bring in new tides of men—new generations and aspects of society, to succeed to those which fleet away so fast. Yet the feudal system, which drew so tightly the bonds of connexion between the people and their chieftains, and of which so few traces now remain in England, except in the basis of our laws, appears to preserve still some portion of its influence amongst these islanders, who regard the ancient families resident amongst them with an almost feudal feeling of attachment; and whilst they continue to take a pride in the deeds of those of their ancestors whom Sir Theobald Russell led against the invaders of their country, the name of this baron, as a patriotic warden, is still mentioned by them with pleasure and esteem.”—*MSS. Journal*, 1826.

¹ Arms; party per pale, *gules* and *azure*, 3 lions rampant *or*.

A.D.
1342-43.

service, and that this descended to his brother Theobald,¹ in defect of any offspring of his own. But when the sheriffs of Gloucester, Hants, and Wiltshire were directed to take into their hands the estates of Sir Theobald the elder, it was found that Ralph was his eldest son and heir, and beneath the age of 21.²

SIR RALPH RUSSELL.

To Sir Ralph Russell, therefore, came the rich inheritance of the Gorges, the half-barony of Newmarch, and Kingston, the manor of his early ancestry. By way of distinction from the old ancestral arms that continued to be borne by his half-brother, the son of Eleanor de la Tour, he assumed a new coat, viz. *Argent*, on a chief *gules*, 3 bezants *or*. Upon the 14th of September, 1730, in conjunction with his brother Theobald, the abbot of Quarr, and Thomas de la Ryvere, he received the king's writ, dated from Havering-Bower, commanding him with all speed to array the military forces of the Isle of Wight, against a meditated invasion of the French fleet, which, by certain advice, was looked for in the following month.³ He was twice married; first to a Lady Eleanor, and secondly to a Lady Alicia—of what families is not apparent. He lived until the 49th year of Edward the Third, 1376; and on inquisition taken upon his decease, he was found possessed of the manors of Yaverland, Rouborough and Wathe in Hampshire, Athelington and Kingston-Russell in Dorsetshire, and Horsington in Somerset;⁴ the three last of which were settled on his wife Alicia for term of life,⁵ and

¹ Inq. p. mortem. 17 Ed. III. *Harl. MS.* No. 2087.

² Abb. Rot. Or. p. 147 *b.* 15 Ed. III. ³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 663.

⁴ Inq. p. mortem. 49 Ed. III. p. 348 *b.* ⁵ Esc. 51 Ed. III.

the rest committed to the custody of Robert de Asheton, A.D. 1341. for 43*l.* 11*s.* annually, till the eldest son became of age.¹ She survived until the 11th year of Richard the Second, 1388, leaving by Sir Ralph three sons, 1. Theobald, 2. John, and 3. Maurice; the farther history of this, the elder branch of the Russells, lords of Kingston, is pursued below.² Sir

² LINEAGE OF THE RUSSELLS, LORDS OF DERHAM.

Arms; *argent*, on a chief *gules*, 3 bezants *or*.

By inquisition taken in 1388 on the estates of Alicia, widow of Ralph Russell, chevalier, she was found to hold of the king by knight service, *in capite*, two parts of the manor of Athelington in Dorset, which were to descend to 1. Theobald her son, and upon his death, in defect of issue, which very soon proved to be the case, to John his brother. To the rest of her domains, namely, the third, which she had held in dowry, of the manors of Upton in Berkshire, Yaverland, Rowborough, and Wath in Wight, and two parts, with the patronage, of Horsington in Somerset, Maurice was afterwards declared her heir.³

2. SIR JOHN RUSSELL.

During the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third, the ancient mode of raising an army by military summons had nearly ceased, giving way to a new and more efficient system of array: which sufficiently accounts for the defect of information on the warlike enterprises in which Sir Ralph Russell may have been engaged. But the renown in arms acquired by his son Sir John, has been redeemed from oblivion by the graphic pen of Froissart, which presents us with a lively picture of one of those chivalric exercises in which he took a part, and by which the haughty manners of the English baron were mellowed down into courtesy and refinement,—exercises which at no period of our history were carried to so magnificent a pitch of pride as in the reign of the second Richard. During the suspension of arms, which at that time fre-

¹ Abb. Rot. Or. 49 Ed. III. p. 335 *a*.

³ Rawl. MSS.

A.D. 1341. Ralph had also one daughter named Alicia, whom he married to John, the son of Thomas Hacket,¹ chevalier, by one of the coheiresses of Sir Nicholas Glamorgan, lord of Wolverton, La Wode, and Middleton,—families of long standing in the

quently took place between the rival courts of France and England, tournaments of the most splendid character were proclaimed by the English herald; knights of all nations were invited to the tourney, and after the exhibition of their prowess, were rewarded with the most sumptuous presents. These entertainments were returned on the part of the French in 1389, when three French knights, Sir Boucicaut the younger, Sir Reginald de Roze, and the Lord de Saimpi, under favour of the King of France, proclaimed a field of arms at St. Ingilvere in Picardy, for thirty days, against all comers. The proclamation, says Froissart, was made in many countries, but especially in England, where it was received with much admiration, and excited several knights and squires that were fond of deeds of arms, to confer upon the subject. Some said that they would be blameworthy if they did not cross the sea, when the distance was so short, and have the pleasure of a tilt; and of those that were most eager in these conversations, he mentions SIR JOHN RUSSELL, Sir John Courtney, Sir John Golafre, and Sir William Clinton. They, and upwards of a hundred other knights and squires, sent beforehand to Calais their names, purveyances, and tilting-arms; and on the 21st of May, the three French knights were at their post. The English knights sallied out from Calais to the spot, where three vermilion-coloured tents were pitched, having two targets for peace or war suspended before each. The place of tournament was smooth, and green with grass; and amongst the numerous spectators both of knights and ladies that were assembled to witness the jousting, was young King Charles of France, unknown, and in disguise.

Sir John Holland was the first who sent his squire to touch the war-target of Sir Boucicaut, who instantly issued from his pavilion completely armed. Having mounted his horse, and grasped his

¹ Arms; *argent*, 2 bends *gules*.

Isle of Wight. She left by him one son, named also John, A.D. 1376. whose estates of Knighton-Gorges, Wolverton, and Milton, passed by his two daughters, Jane and Agnes, into other families; the former heiress marrying Gilbert of Witcombe,

spear, they took their distances. In the first course, Sir Boucicaut pierced the earl's¹ shield, and the point of the lance slipped along his arm. In the second they hit each other slightly; and their horses refused to complete the third. The earl next ran three courses with the Lord de Saimpi, in which both were unhelmed: he was succeeded by the earl marshal of England, Thomas Mowbray, who touched the war-target of Sir Reginald de Roye. At the third course, they met with such force, that the fire sparkled from their helmets, and the earl was unhelmed: he continued his career to his own place, but jousted no more that day. Thomas, Lord Clifford of Cumberland, ran two spears with Sir Boucicaut, and afterwards broke a spear against the Lord de Saimpi. Sir Henry Beaumont did not manage his lance well; he hit Sir Boucicaut on the side: but the latter struck his opponent so full on the middle of his shield, that he drove him to the ground. Yet, being raised by his attendants, he remounted, and tilted two more courses "very handsomely" with the Lord de Saimpi, without any hurt to either.

Sir Peter Courtney next presented himself. Being anxious to run six lances, he sent a squire to touch with a rod the three shields of war, which excited much surprise. But avowing his desire to tilt two spears with each, the request was considered, and allowed. He met at full gallop, and was unhelmed by Sir Reginald de Roye: with the Lord de Saimpi his lance was broken; but advancing furiously in the second course, he struck off the knight's helmet, and rode on in stately style. In the tilt with Sir Boucicaut, both were struck upon the shield so strongly, that their horses were quite checked in their career; and in the second course both knights were unhelmed. Sir Peter wished to have a seventh tilt, but was told that he had done enough that day, and was forced to give way to Sir John Golafre. The war-shield which he sent to touch was

¹ Sir John Holland was Earl of Huntingdon.

A.D. 1376. in Somersetshire. The arms of Hacket were, *Argent*, 2 bends *gules*; those of Gilbert, *Argent*, on a chevron *gules* 3 roses of the first.

3. Sir Theobald Russell assumed his mother's surname

that of Reginald de Roze. In the first course they hit each other's helmets; in the third attaint, shivered their spears on the two shields: in two courses their steeds swerved. Their fifth lance was more efficiently bestowed; for in this career they were both handsomely unhelmed, and this being done, each retired with honour to his party. Sir Peter Sherborn selected first Sir Boucicaut, whom in the second course he not only unhelmed, but wounded in the face, so that the blood spun from his nose, and he retired to his pavilion: his next choice was the Lord de Saimpi, though it was nearly vespers. In the second course, they both struck full upon the target, and shivered their spears into three parts; but the blow of the Lord de Saimpi was so strong, that the English chevalier lost his seat, and fell upon the ground, from whence, however, he instantly arose, and was led by his attendants from the lists. He was equalled in the joust by Sir John Russell.

"SIR JOHN RUSSELL, an expert and valiant knight from England, but well known for his prowess in various countries, ordered his squire to touch the shield of the Lord de Saimpi, who was already armed and mounted. On receiving his lance, he spurred his horse against the English knight, and the shock of their spears against the targets instantly forced the steeds to stop. They returned therefore to their posts, and it was not long before they commenced their second course with equal vigour; but when near, the horses swerved, which prevented their attaint. To their sorrow, they were thus obliged to return again to the end of the lists. They were more successful the third course; for they struck each other with such force, that the visors of their helmets were broken off; and the two knights very admirably continued their career."¹

It was now time to leave off for the day, and return to their

¹ Johnes's Froissart, vol. iv. pp. 148-9.

and the Morville coat-of-arms, which occasioned a dispute, A.D. 1348. in 1348, between him and Warburton of Cheshire, who proved his right to bear them, in the court of Henry, earl of Lancaster, earl marshal; and accordingly Sir Theobald

hotels. The English set off at full gallop for Calais, where they remained that night enjoying themselves, and talking over the feats of arms that had been done. The French retired to St. Inglevere; "and if the English talked much of what had been done, you may readily," says Froissart, "conclude that the French were not silent." The tourney was kept up with great spirit for an entire week; when the English waited in a body on the French knights, and thanked them warmly for the amusements they had given them. "On our return," said they, "we shall loudly speak of your gallantry, and tell all who may inquire of these deeds of arms, to come and witness them in person, during the thirty days for which you have made proclamation." "Many thanks!" replied the three knights; "they shall be made welcome, and delivered by deeds of arms as you have been; and we desire you will accept our best acknowledgments for the courtesy which you have shewn us."

In this friendly manner did the English and French knights separate on the plain of St. Inglevere. Sir John Russell, embarking at Calais, returned to England, and joined the expedition which was shortly set on foot, at the solicitations of the Genoese, against the Saracens of Barbary.¹

This expedition, undertaken to revenge the attacks of the Barbary corsairs upon the isles of the Genoese, was conducted by the Duke of Bourbon; and the strong town of Africa, a sea-port, situated about 70 miles from Tunis, which was considered then as the Calais of the Barbary states, was the point to which their expedition steered, on St. John Baptist's day, in the year of grace 1390. The Saracens, on their landing, were anxious to know the object for which so large an armament was come against them, and sent a messenger to learn. The answer which Bourbon returned furnishes a singular comment on the ignorant and superstitious

¹ Johnes's Froissart, vol. iv. p. 224.

A.D.
1360-77.

had a chevron *gules* assigned him for difference. He was one of the wardens of the Isle of Wight in 1360,¹ and again in 1370, sheriff of Somerset and Dorset in 1362, and of Hants in 1377. In the organisation of the armed array of the Isle,

spirit which prompted these crusading enterprises. He stated that it was in consequence of their ancestors having put to death the Son of God, the true Prophet, and of their being unbaptised and infidels in the faith to the holy Virgin mother, that they were come to retaliate the injuries which were daily heaped by them upon the Christian creed. The Saracens were infinitely amused at this declaration, and returned the unanswerable reply, that these were assertions without proof; for that it was the Jews, and not themselves, who had committed the enormity complained of. The army remained nine weeks before the town; but this was strongly fortified, the Saracens decided to avoid a general action, and to trust rather to the oppressive heat of their climate for defence than to their warfare or their walls. Yet they daily harassed the Christians in skirmishes before the town and at the barriers; and in these Sir John Russell was always eager to appear. The flower of the infidel chivalry were gathered in the town, and amongst the most conspicuous of these was Agadinquor Oliferne, a Moorish knight, who for the love which he bore to the daughter of the King of Tunis, performed during the siege many a brilliant feat of arms. Completely sheathed in sable mail, with a white turban on his head, and three javelins constantly in hand, mounted also on a beautiful Arab courser, that whenever he was in danger from the Christian knights, bounded off as on the wings of the wind, he attracted the eye and the ambition of them all. This knight on one occasion sent a challenge to the Christians, to decide the truth of their respective creeds by a feat of arms between ten champions on either side. "Sir Boucicaut, the younger," says Froissart, "accepted it with great courage, as well as Sir Helion de Lignac, SIR JOHN RUSSELL the Englishman, Sir John Harpenden, Alain Bourdet, and Bouchet. The Duke of Bourbon, how-

¹ Worsley's Isle of Wight, p. 90.

during the reign of Edward the Third, he had under his command the districts of Knighton, St. Helen's, Kerne, Ryde, Quarr, Binstead, and Newchurch,—Sir Reginald Oglander, lord of Nunwell, serving as his vintner or lieutenant.¹ In A.D. 1377.

ever, did not approve the acceptance of the proposal, fearing lest it might cover some treacherous design; yet as the knights could not in honour recede from their engagement, he ordered the whole army to be drawn out in array as if for combat, the Genoese cross-bows on one side, and the knights and squires on the other; each lord under his own banner or pennon emblazoned with his arms. But this precautionary display effectually prevented the rencontre; for seeing the Christian army drawn out in battle-array, the Saracens distrusted the disposition of their opponents, and forbade their champions even from appearing, although Sir John Russell and the other nine knights, in regard to their promise, remained upon the ground till evening. From the heat of the climate, upon that day alone there fell five-and-twenty knights of reputation, and almost as many squires of good degree. It was obvious that the longer the army remained before the town, the greater would be its disadvantage; the siege, therefore, was finally raised, without the accomplishment of any one object of the expedition, beyond that of the display of individual prowess. Many of the knights upon re-embarking passed off to other enterprises, some to Naples, some to Sicily and Cyprus; and others to Rhodes, and the pilgrimage of Jerusalem.² Sir John Russell, if he went upon any of these expeditions, lived to rejoin his family in England; as his tomb, and that of Elizabeth his lady, were still to be seen in the church of Derham, Gloucestershire, when Leland wrote his Itinerary.³ Having no children, however, his whole estates passed to his third brother,

SIR MAURICE RUSSELL.

Sir Maurice Russell was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1391 and 1396, the 14th and 19th years of Richard the Second; and again

¹ Worsley, *App.* p. xxix.

² *Johne's Froissart*, vol. iv. p. 240.

³ *Lel. It.* vol. vii. p. 93.

A.D. 1377. 1377, in which year King Edward closed his reign, the French threatening a descent upon the island, Sir Theobald received the royal writ, to arm forthwith for its defence all his family and military retainers against the national enemy.¹ At their

in 1401 and 1406,² the 2d and 7th of King Henry the Fourth. He married for his first lady, Isabel, the daughter of Sir Edmund Chelrey, who bore for his arms *Argent*, a whirlpool *gules*; for his second, Isabel de Bruyn, whose family bore *Azure*, a cross moline *or*; and for his third a lady Joanna, whose family is unknown. He lived throughout the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, dying in the year 1421, and was interred beside his first lady, in the south aisle of Derham church, where a flat stone is still to be seen, bearing a large representation of himself and her, and under it the following Monkish verses:

“Miles privatus vitæ jacet hic tumulatus,
Sub petra stratus, MAURICE RUSSEL vocitatus.
ISABEL sponsa fuit hujus militis, ista
Quæ jacet absconsa sub marmore, modo alto.
Cœli solamen, Trinitas, his conferat Amen,—
Qui fuit, est, et erit! Concita morte perit.”³

His lady Joanna surviving him, had assigned her for dowry, Bradpole and Lutton manors, a third part of Kingston Russell, with the advowson of its chapel and of Lutton church, lands at Combe, Redhove hundred, and Beminster-forum.⁴ She remarried first Sir John Stradling, who bore for arms, Paly of 6 *argent* and *azure*, on a bend *gules*, 2 cinquefoils *or*; by whom she had a son Edmund or Edward, of the age of twenty-six in 1456, when his mother died: her third husband was Sir Thomas Brook.⁵

By Isabella Chelrey, his first lady, Sir Maurice Russell had two daughters, Margaret and Isabel.

MARGARET RUSSELL.

Margaret, the elder of his co-heiresses, was married first to Sir Gilbert Dennys, knt., lord of Siston, Alveston, and Erdecot in

¹ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 139.

² Fuller's Worthies; *Gloucestershire*.

³ Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 429.

⁴ Inquis. 10 H. VI. Esc. Dorset.

⁵ Rudder's Hist. of Glouc. p. 495.

approach, the watch-fires were set burning, and the islanders stood to their arms ; but as there were no forts to guard the coast, the foe effected a landing with little difficulty, and advanced to Carisbrook Castle, whither, after the first skir-

A.D. 1377.

Gloucestershire,¹ whose arms were *Gules*, a bend engrailed *azure* between 3 leopards' heads *or*, jessant fleurs-de-lis of the second. He was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1394, 17th Richard the Second : but previously to this, viz. in 1383, 6th Richard the Second, he, with Margaret his lady, enfeoffed William Dennys and Robert Daldene in various parcels of Alveston and Erdecote manors, and Langley hundred, Siston manor remaining to the said Gilbert.² He died in the tenth year of Henry the Fifth, 1423, seised of the entire manor of Derham, also of Alveston, Urcot, and Langley hundred.³ She was married, secondly, to John Kemys, chevalier, Lord of Frampton Cotterel, in Gloucestershire, who bore *Vert*, on a chevron *argent* 3 pheons' heads *sable*. A moiety of the manor of Derham was settled on her for her marriage-portion :⁴ and in conjunction with this second husband, and her sister Isabel and Stephen Haytfield, she in 1392, 15th Richard the Second, levied a fine of one moiety of the manor of Aust to the use of Sir Maurice Berkley, of Uley.⁵ In 1480, 19th Edward the Fourth, John Kemys and Margaret his wife, once wife of Sir Gilbert Dennys, knight, gave livery of the manor of Kingston Russell to Walter Dennys and Agnes his lady.⁶ At his death, in the 16th or 17th year of Edward the Fourth, 1477-8, John Kemys held the manor and advowson of Kingston, the manor of Horsington, half the manor of Litton, and other lands in Gloucestershire, and William Kemys his son was found to be his heir.⁷

ISABEL RUSSELL.

Isabel, the second daughter of Sir Maurice Russell, was first married to John, the son of Baldwin de Drayton, lord of Craneford, in Northamptonshire, and of Alicia, heiress of Henry de Prayers,

¹ Rudder's Hist. of Glouc. p. 664.

² Id. p. 54.

³ Id. p. 226.

⁴ Id. p. 428.

⁵ Id. p. 495.

⁶ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. 299.

A.D. 1377. mish, the soldiery retreated. It was stubbornly defended by Sir Hugh Tirrell, the governor, and the island-chivalry; and the French, finding themselves unable to subdue it, finally re-embarked, after levying upon the natives a forced contri-

lady of Strixton, and Dorsington in Gloucestershire.¹ His arms were *Argent*, a cross engrailed *gules*. He joined with his lady Isabel, her sister and Sir Gilbert Dennys, in the sale of part of the lands of Hinton to Nicholas Stanshaw,² the deed of which, he sealed with his circular seal — a shield, bearing the engrailed cross, and surrounded with the inscription: * S. JOHANIS: DRAYTON. He also joined with his lady in selling their moiety of the manor of Derham to Sir Gilbert Dennys, in whose family it continued till the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth.

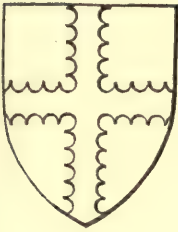
The date of his death is uncertain; but we find his widow remarried to Sir Stephen Haytfield, the eldest son of a very ancient and honourable family, long settled at Haytfield in Holderness. Amongst his ancestry, he numbered that Thomas de Haytfield, who, from being secretary of state and keeper of the privy seal to Edward the Third, was first appointed travelling tutor to the Black Prince, and afterwards bishop of Durham; he joined, as a military retainer of the crown, in repelling the invasion of the Scots in 1346, and attended his sovereign in more than one of his expeditions into France. Stephen, the elder brother of the bishop, gave to St. Mary's at York all his fisheries in the meres of Watsand, Seaton, Hornsey, and Agnes-Burton, in Holderness, and with his wife Agnes was a great benefactor to Melsa or Maulx abbey. William, the brother of the last-mentioned knight, by will dated at his manor of Est-Haytfield, on Thursday, the feast of St. Paul's conversion, 1402, gave his soul to God, St. Mary and All Saints, his body to be buried in the church of Est-Haytfield, and £4. to a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul in the divine assembly. He left three sons; 1. Robert, the king's escheator

¹ Shirleorum Familiæ Prosapia. Harl. MSS. Cod. 4028, p. 215.

² Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 429.

ARMS. V.

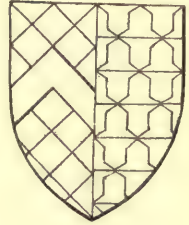
DRAYTON.



HAYTFIELD.



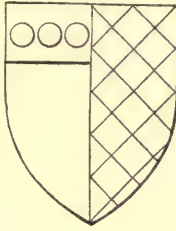
GORGES
AND BEAUCHAMP.



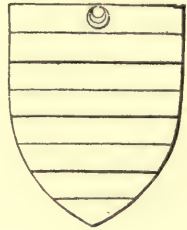
DE LA TOUR.



ELEANORE RUSSELL.



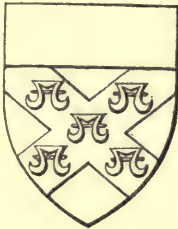
MUSCHAMP.



GODFREY.



CHEVEREL.



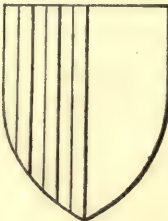
HERRINGHAM.



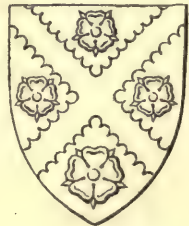
FROXMERE.



TRENCHARD.



NAPIER.



bution of one thousand marks, to redeem their houses and estates from a menaced conflagration. A.D. 1377.

Sir Theobald Gorges, married, first, Mary, the daughter of Sir Thomas Beauchamp;¹ who bore for his shield of arms,

for Yorkshire, who married Maud, the daughter of John de Boyn-ton, and left his chain of office—described as a flagon chain of fine angel gold, of 223 links and 36 oz. weight—as an heir-loom in the family: 2. Stephen, who attended Henry the Fifth in his Norman wars, by whom he was held in especial favour: and 3. Thomas, who, marrying Margaret, daughter of John Reresby of Lincolnshire, became the father of Stephen, the husband of Isabel Russell.² He had estates in Oxfordshire, as well as Gloucester; whilst the lady Isabel brought him a moiety of the manors of Bradpole, Lutton, Yaverland, and other lands in Dorsetshire and Gloucester. He was knighted after his marriage, was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1423 and 1430; and wore a surcoat of his arms over his armour, “to distinguish him according to his quality.” His private seal represents him as a knight on horseback, barded, and at full gallop—himself armed cap-à-pie, with his beaver up, a drawn sword in his hand, his shield of arms before him, bearing *Ermine*, on a chevron *sable*, 3 cinquefoils *argent*; and around the seal this legend, S. STEPHANI: DE: HAITFELD: MIL:.. His more private seal shews the figure of his mantled lady, surmounting his shield of arms and helmet, with the inscription + S. SECRETUM: STEPHANI: HAITFELD::³ He left issue Laurence, Stephen, and other children, the first of whom received his great gold chain, and left a son named Stephen, by Agnes, one of his three wives, daughter of John Marshal, of Carlton, near Newark. He himself died in 1465, the 4th year of King Edward the Fourth; but previously to this, viz. in 1435, 13th Henry the Sixth, he had license, with Isabel his wife, her sister Margaret and John Kemys, to grant one third of Kingston Russell and Horsington to John Stradling and his wife Joanna,⁴ the widow of Sir Maurice Russell.

¹ Ped. in the Bedford Office. ^{2 3} Antiq. Rep. vol. iv. p. 440–50.

⁴ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. 299.

A.D. 1381. Vairy *argent* and *azure*; and secondly, a lady named Agnes, who survived him. Dying in 1381, his widow had the manors of Knighton-Gorges, Braunston in Devon, and lands at Sturminster and Bradpole, assigned to her in dowry: he left by her a family, which, not to interrupt the main current of narration, may be briefly seen below.¹

This lady, Joanna, at her death in the 20th year of King Edward the Fourth, 1481, held the manors of Over Compton in Dorset, and Halsway and Combe-Harvey, in the county of Somerset,—Edward, her son, being pronounced her heir, and of the age of forty.²

By her first husband, Sir Maurice Russell, she had one son, named Thomas, to whom, however, but an inferior portion of his estates descended, the principal manors having been settled, probably before his birth, as marriage-portions on his sisters-in-law.³ He died in the 9th year of Henry the Sixth, 1431, having married a lady named Joanna, to whom was born, after his decease, a daughter, Margaret. In her the Russells of Derham became extinct, for she died at the early age of seven years, in the 16th year of Henry the Sixth, 1438, seised of Kingston-Russell and other lands, which, by inquisition of the crown in the year following, were declared to her heirs-general, John Hacket, the son of Alicia Russell, and John Kemys and Stephen Haytfield, in right of their respective ladies.⁴

¹ LINEAGE OF THE GORGES, *Lords of Bradpole and Wraxall.*

Mary Beauchamp = 1. Sir Theobald Gorges = 2. Agnes, ob. 2 H. IV.

1. Sir Ralph Gorges 2. Bartholomew 3. Thomas = Agnes = 2. Thomas Norton.
ob. s. prole. 4 Ric. II. ob. 20 Ric. II. ob. 5 H. IV. ob. 7 H. V.

1, John, æt. 7 at his father's death; 2. Sir Theo. Gorges = 1. Agnes, d. of John de
ob. s. pr. 1 H. VI. ob. 10 H. IV. Wyke, m. Oct. 15, 1353.

2... had issue, Richard.
Walter Gorges = Mary, d. and h. of William Ouldhall.

Edmund Gorges, lord of Wroxhall, &c.

Knight of the Bath at the creation of Arthur, prince of Wales, son of K. Henry VII.;
ancestor of the Lords Gorges and Barons of Dundalk.

²⁴ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. 299.

³ Rudder's Gloucestershire, p. 429.

SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.

But the knight who was destined to carry forward the A.D. 1537.
fortunes of the family in its most noble and illustrious line,
was William, the youngest son of Sir Theobald Russell by
his second lady Eleanore, the daughter and coheirress of John
de la Tour; a family which probably derived its name from
the fief of La Tour near Bayeux, in allusion whereto they
had taken for their arms, *Azure a tower argent*—a device
borne also by the houses of La Tour Landry and La Tour
d'Auvergne in France.¹ Each was of great antiquity; but
the earliest notice that I find of the English branch is of
the year 1140; the Pipe Roll of the 5th of Stephen stating
that Walter de la Tour owed £17. 11s. 8d. for restitution of
those lands of his in Cornwall which Hubert d'Aunay had
in pledge.² Bernard and Richard de la Tour, who were
perhaps the sons of Walter, by their charter in the reign
of Henry the Second, though without date, warranted to the
monks of Gouffers-en-Forêt all the lands lying at Mont-
gomery in Normandy, which Hugh de Closey and Matilda
his wife had conferred upon that abbey.³ Thomas de la
Tour flourished in the time of King John; Hugh, his son,
in that of Henry the Third, and was still living in 1310,⁴
although his eldest son Sir John died so early as 1272, the
first year of Edward the First. By inquisition taken soon after,
he was found seised, at the time of his death, of various lands
at Berwick, Sturtill, Motesburg, Chaldecote, and Swire in

¹ Du Moulin mentions, amongst the bannerets of Champagne and Bour-
gogne who went on the Crusades, "Le Sire de Tour, *gules*, a tower *or*."
App. p. 25.

² Rot. Pip. 5 St. m. 1. Cornvalia.

³ Bundle of charters relative to St. Andrew de Gouffers in the Préfecture
at Caen.

⁴ Pedigree in the Bedford Office.

A.D. 1337. Dorset;¹ leaving by Roberga his widow, who for dowry had the third part of these estates, an infant of two years old, named John,² coheir with Eleanore his sister, the lady of Sir William Russell. Another third of the manor of Berwick was at the same time found to be held in dowry by Emma, the widow of Gregory de la Tour, the uncle of this infant, who afterwards married a Lady Julian, bearing for her arms, *Argent*, 3 eagles displayed *azure*, and died in 1341-2, leaving Thomas de la Tour, his son, his heir, who was at that period thirty years of age.³ The greater portion of the above estates came, however, ultimately to be possessed by the heirs of Eleanore Russell, who had also, on the decease of Sir Theobald her husband, one third of the manors of Kingston, Athelington, Horsington, and Hasilbere, assigned to her in dowry;⁴ but in 1357, by her deed given at Somerton, on the Lord's-day next after the feast of St. Eadmer, and sealed with her own seal,⁵ she released to John de Somerton and others all the right which by reason of dowry she might have in Hasilbere;⁶ and in the same year fined in one mark to have license to exchange her third in the manor and advowson of Horsington, Hardwick in Bucks, and rents at Sherborn, with her son-in-law, Ralph Russell, for two parts of the manor of Derham.⁷ Her interest in this estate, however, terminated with

¹ Cal. Inq. post mort. 2 & 3 Ed. I. vol. i. p. 51.

² Rawlinson MSS. vol. ccxcvii. p. 13. Inq. 2 Ed. I.

³ Genealogy in Bedford Office: et Rawl. MSS. ut sup.

⁴ Collinson's Somerset, vol. ii. p. 372, &c.

⁵ A circular seal in red wax, circumscribed, SIGILLUM : ELEANORE : RUSSELL. In the centre is a shield of arms, viz. Russell of Derham impaling Morville or Gorges, as being perhaps considered more appropriate to a deed relative to lands which she held in dowry, of the Lords of Derham, than her own ancestral arms. At the four points around this shield are placed also four widow's scutcheons charged alternately with the same arms.

⁶ Charta xxix. 37, in Mus. Brit.

⁷ Inq. post mort. 30 Ed. III.; and Abb. Rot. Or. p. 247 a.

her life,¹ and Sir William therefore succeeded only to his A.D. 1339. mother's inheritance, of which the manor of Berwick was the principal. Hitherto the Russells had possessed only a few insulated lands there; the De la Tours enjoyed the larger manor; but henceforth Berwick became the fixed residence of the branch whose history it is the main object of these pages to illustrate. Under the influence of the law of primogeniture, it fared, for the present, like a luminary shorn of its brightest beams and in temporary eclipse; but the shadow was not to be of long continuance: it was anon destined

“ to repair its drooping head,
And trick its beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flame in the forehead of the morning sky.”

Previous to his invasion of France in 1339, Edward the Third had obtained a considerable supply from his parliament for carrying on the war; but finding it insufficient for his necessities, he returned to England to raise more money, and had no sooner landed at Harwich, than he issued writs for a new parliament, which were sealed with his new broad seal, on which, in anticipation of his future conquests, he had added the fleur-de-lys of France to the lions of England. To the parliament thus summoned, Sir William was returned by the burgesses of Melcombe.² A large supply was solicited by the king for the continuance of the war; whereupon the Commons allowed him, with other tallages, the ninth sheaf, fleece, and lamb, and the citizens and burgesses the ninth of all their goods for the two succeeding years. But, for this

¹ She was still living in 1362; as on the 20th of July in that year, “Alianore, relict of Theobald Russell,” made a presentation to the living of Bridport.—Hutchins' *Dorset*. vol. i. p. 244.

² Willis; Not. Parl. vol. i. p. 454.

A.D. 1348. extraordinary grant to the crown, they required the king, on his part, to confirm the two Great Charters, the privileges of boroughs, to grant a pardon for old debts and trespasses against the forest-laws, and a remedy for abuses in the execution of the common law.

In 1348 Sir William was, by the burgesses of Dorchester, a second time returned to parliament.¹ In this interval the memorable battle of Crecy had been gained, and Calais, strictly invested, was on the point of being taken. Edward, therefore, had no great difficulty in obtaining from the Commons a supply of three-fifteenths, to be levied in three years ; but, mindful of their grievances and burdens, they coupled the grant with the express condition that various customs and aids should be abolished, the coinage purified, additional despatch insured to their unanswered petitions by the special appointment of two prelates, lords and justices, to decide upon them ; that no loan or imposition, tax or tallage, should be in future imposed upon them by the privy council, without their own consent in parliament, and that these various demands should be entered on the rolls of parliament, as matter of record and remedy, in case any thing should be done to the contrary, in time to come. By acts like these the Commons struggled to bind down the remains of that arbitrary spirit in its kings which was still but too frequently seen to influence Edward's conduct, notwithstanding his evident desire to cultivate a good understanding with his people.

In the military arrangements entered into throughout this reign for the defence of the Isle of Wight, Sir William Russell had under his command the districts of Yaverland, Bembridge, Northill and Brading, the lord of Wolverton act-

¹ Willis; Not. Parl. vol. i. p. 421.

ing as his vintner; and as it is probable, says Sir Richard Worsley, that personal merit was consulted more than extent of possession in bestowing these commands,¹ the appointment of Sir William to this station serves to shew the favourable opinion entertained of him by his compatriots. He lived to witness the deposition of Richard the Second; and in 1412, the 13th year of Henry the Fourth, had letters of protection to Henry Prince of Wales, captain of the camp and town of Calais, together with John de Stafford and five other knights;² but the object of their voyage is not stated in the records. He married into the knightly family of Muschamp, whose estates lay in Surrey; and left two sons, Henry and Stephen, to perpetuate his lineage; both of whom we find returned in the 12th year of Henry the Sixth, 1434, by the commissioners appointed to furnish a list of such of the Dorset gentry as were able to dispend £12. per annum.⁴ In 1438, October 3d, Stephen Russell, rector of Winterborne-Stapleton, exchanged that living for the vicarage of Whitchurch.⁵

SIR HENRY RUSSELL.

The usurpation of the Duke of Lancaster, however violent and unjust, is thought to have been, on the whole, beneficial to the liberties of England. The invalidity of his title to the crown rendered it necessary for him to court the affections of the people, by the concession of privileges which raised the Commons into considerable importance, and established them in the fearless exercise of their powers. To the government of the Lancastrian princes the nation was

¹ Worsley; *App.* p. xxix.

² Fr. Rot. 13 and 14 Hen. IV. m. 3.; and Rymer, vol. viii. p. 771.

³ Arms; Barry of 8 *or* and *argent*, a crescent for difference.

⁴ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. p. lxvi. ⁵ Id. vol. i. p. 333.

A.D. 1425. fully reconciled by the justice, the clemency, and the valour of Henry the Fifth; and as the idea of national greatness is so closely mingled in men's minds with that of victory and conquest, the pride of the people was probably at no former period more highly excited than when the battle of Azincour, by the capture or slaughter of the flower of French chivalry, threw France prostrate at the feet of England. In this and the succeeding wars, all the military youth of England were ambitious to be found; and there are reasons for believing that either as a squire, or solicitous to prove his maidenprowess as a knight who had already undergone the rites of chivalry, Sir Henry Russell was amongst the number, although no return of this exists, as the military part of the feudal system was in the present reign entirely dissolved. In 1425, the third year of Henry the Sixth, he was in parliament for Weymouth,¹ and there witnessed the protector's singular presentation of the infant king; "a strange sight," says Speed, "and the first time it was ever seen in England, for an infant sitting in its mother's lap, and before it could tell what English meant, to exercise in open parliament the place of sovereign direction." The long minority that appeared in prospect, encouraged still farther the Lords and Commons to extend their influence, the rapid growth of which is attested by the reference made to them in 1426 of the deadly animosity that had arisen between the Duke of Gloucester as lord protector, and the Bishop of Winchester; a quarrel which it required all their influence to settle and compose. The parliament of 1428, to which Sir Henry was again elected,² defined at length the respective powers of each, with an authority very worthy of remark. On the following year, the king having entered into his ninth year, was crowned with great solemnity, and the protectorate dissolved.

^{1 2} Willis; Not. Parl. vol. i. p. 443.

In 1433 Sir Henry Russell was a third time elected to A.D. 1433. serve in parliament, in which a subsidy and vote of credit were granted for the continuance of the war, and the thanks of the Commons presented to John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford, for his military conduct and wise administration of the regency of France. But even the duke's great abilities were insufficient to turn the tide of success which, since the rise of Joan of Arc, had set in so strongly in favour of the French. This misfortune to the interests of England was consummated by Bedford's death; and before the factions of Winchester and Gloucester could consent to fix the appointment of a new regent, Paris was lost, and the English were compelled to retire into Normandy.

The conquests of Azincour were not, however, to be resigned without a struggle. A chosen band of knights was raised and transported into Normandy by the brave Lord Talbot, whose banner Sir Henry Russell joined. In the sieges and battles that succeeded, a spirit of high chivalry and heroic resolution is seen to shine, as though to irradiate the last hours of English dominion in France. They took the strong castles of Joing and Beaumont, the towns of Creill, Pont St. Maxence, Neufville, La Rouge-maison, Crespie, and Cleremont; the castles of Dorle and Bomeline yielded to their arms; laying siege to Louviers and St. Selerrine, they won them after a severe conflict; uniting with the forces of Lord Willoughby, Lord Scales, and the Seigneur de Lisle-Adam, they besieged St. Dennis, which, though defended by the Earl Dunois and the Lords Lohac and Burill, was shortly rendered, and its walls and fortifications razed to the ground. Harfleur was won by the combined efforts of all the English forces; but no sooner had it been won, than Talbot drew off his devoted band, and sat down

A.D.
1438-9.

before Tankarville, which after a siege of four months was taken by assault. It must have been in this conflict that Sir Henry Russell took prisoner Ivo de Abben and several other knights, whom he sent into England under the king's letters of protection, dated September 8th, 1438-9.¹ In 1442 he a fourth time sat in parliament;² and in return for the confidence of his constituents, obtained the royal license, in 1442, the twentieth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, to found the guild of St. George at Weymouth, which he endowed with lands at Knighton, Wyke-Regis, Portland, and Wotton-Glanville.³ The date of his death is uncertain; but it is probable he survived the benefaction but a few years. He had married early in life a lady of the family of Godfrey in Hampshire, who bore *Argent*, a dragon segreiant *sable*,—by whom he had two sons, William, who appears to have died during his father's lifetime; Sir John, who succeeded as heir to the family estates; and a daughter Christiana, married to Sir Walterel Cheverel of Chantmarle, Dorset, who died in 1483, leaving by her a son John, ancestor of the celebrated Dr. Sacheverel of a later age. She had the manor of Stoke-Hide and other lands in Dorsetshire assigned to her in dowry upon her lord's death. The Cheverels of Chantmarle bore, *Argent*, on a saltire *azure* 5 waterbougets *or*, a chief *gules*.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL.

Sir John Russell flourished during the reigns of Henry the Fifth, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth. He obtained in marriage the hand of Elizabeth, one of the two

¹ Cat. Rot. Franc. vol. ii. p. 296.

² Willis's Not. Parl. vol. ii. p. 443.

³ Seventeen messuages, fifty-four acres of land, and common for eight oxen. Cal. Inq. ad quod damnum, p. 389; Bundel. Off. Augment. 437 *b*; and Rot. Pat. 20 H. VI. p. 2, m. 7.

co-heiresses of Sir John Herringham, lord of Chaldon-Herring A.D. 1424. and other estates in Dorset, a descendant of the very ancient family of Harenc or Harange, whose Norman possessions at the Conquest lay around Evreux, and who are found to have been settled at Chaldon so early as the reign of King John.¹

¹ In the Cartulary of the Leprosy of Pont-Audemar, deposited in the Public Library at Rouen, I found several evidences of the early members of this family, which, for the reason formerly assigned, it appears desirable to record.

LINEAGE OF HARANGE, OR HERRINGHAM.

Arms; *Gules*. 3 herrings hauriant *Argent*.

The first individual of this family, of whom any known memorial exists, was ROGER HARENC, who in 1056, ten years before the Conquest, assisted in the endowment of the abbey of St. Sauveur at Evreux, witnessing, as one of the nobles or barons of Richard, count of that province, his foundation-charter, which recites his own benefactions and those of the attesting nobles, and which was confirmed by William, *Duke*, and Matilda, *Countess* of the Normans, in the year 1060.² He left three sons, Hugh, Richard, and Ralph.

HUGH HARENC flourished during the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. In the year 1135, when Waleran, earl of Mellent, founded the leprosy at Pont-Audemar, he gave by his charter to God, St. Egidius, and the infirm brothers, with the assent of his sons and brothers, for the soul's weal of himself and his progenitors, that land of his which lay alongside of the hospital upon the east; in recognisance whereof he received three and a half marcs of silver and 28*d.* sterling, and his two brothers Richard and Ralph 12*d.* each.³ He conceded also to the same fraternity a quadrugate of land, extending from the highway by the fountain to the land which they purchased of Beatrice Fitz-Anchetil Pincerna, in exchange for the plot behind his dwelling on the east; a transaction which, after the decease of Hugh, was proved in the presence of Herbert his heir, before the Lord William de Morville, in the city castle, of which he was governor on behalf of Henry the king.⁴ RICHARD HARENC gave to the abbey of St. Taurin, in the diocese of Evreux, the tithe of all his land called Cultins, which was confirmed by Richard I. when at Val-Rouil, in 1199.⁵ But the possessions of RALPH HARENC lay in England. He gave to Catesby priory in Northamptonshire that space in his park of Westbury between Whittlebury forest and the land of Jordan de St. Loo where the trees had been grubbed up; and all the

² Gall. Christ. Instrum. p. 127.

³ ⁴ Cartulary at Rouen.

⁵ Id. Instrum. p. 140.

A.D. 1424. This gentleman, by marriage with Alicia, the only daughter of John Syward, lord of Winterborne, a knight who could boast an almost equally long line of ancestry, inherited the large possessions of that anciently baronial house; and at his death, in 1456, the king's escheators delivered in, the

similar space in his wood of Westbury between the abbey-lands of Oseney and Bisham; together with a certain hedge, so that the cattle of the monastery might have ingress and egress to the cleared spaces beyond the park; to which he added his manorial wood extending from that spot near the trench called Blakeput-rood to Blakeput, with all its appurtenances.¹ In 1199 he came to an agreement with William de Westbury in some dispute relative to the manors of Westbury and of Clane-field, Oxon.² To the priory also of the Holy Trinity in London he gave twenty-five and a half acres in the fields of Heston, a meadow belonging to a tenement in his fee there, and the service which Robert Faber was accustomed annually to render to him.³ He was seneschal to Thomas de St. Valery, and in that capacity witnessed his charter confirming the grants of his father Bernard to Godstow priory.⁴

Such were the transactions in which the brothers of Hugh Harenc are found to have been concerned. He had four sons, Herbert his heir, Geoffrey, Roger, and Robert, who flourished in the reigns of King Richard I., John, and Henry III.

HERBERT HARENC confirmed to the church of St. Egidius de Pont-Audemar, and the fraternity of lepers there serving God, a donation of Robert de Baliol in his fee, the tenements, namely, of Geoffrey the son of Hugh Harenc, and various other knights.⁵ GEOFFREY HARENC the priest, and Roger his brother, joined in the gift of a house at Bogrice to the same hospital.⁶ ROGER HARENC and Joanna his wife received of Victor, abbot of St. George de Bocherville, whose rule extended from 1157 to 1211, an acre of land, in exchange for the one which he claimed of the abbey, on the singular condition that he and his wife and heirs should render three hundred horse-shoes, and nails appropriate, at the feast of St. George.⁷ Before 1190 he had given to St. Taurin's the tithe of his mills at Glisoles;⁸ in 1230 he witnessed grants to the same abbey of a perch of land by Robert Onis,⁹ and five acres by William, son of Ralph de Rivers;¹⁰ and, finally, ROBERT HARENC, in 1153, gave the tithe of one mill, one mansion, and one field on

¹ Dug. Mon. vol. ii. p. 896 b.

² Abb. Plac. Rot. 1 John, vol. i. p. 25.

³ Id. vol. ii. p. 82 a.

⁵ ⁶ Cartulary at Rouen.

⁴ Id. vol. i. p. 526 a.

⁸ Gall. Christ. Inst. p. 140.

⁷ Cart. of St. Geo. de Boch. at Rouen, p. 26. ⁹ Id. p. 119 b.

¹⁰ Id. p. 126 b.

schedule of a very considerable list of lands and manors, for A.D. 1424. partition between his two coheireses, of whom Ysolde, the second, was found married to Sir John Delalynde.

Whether the early life of Sir John Russell was spent in the exercise of arms, under the same banner beneath which

his domain, to the abbey of St. Saens.¹ Herbert, their elder brother, appears to have had two sons, Thomas and William.

THOMAS HARANGE appears to have been the first of the family who fixed his residence in Dorsetshire. He gave by his charter to Bindon abbey half a hide of land and pasture for three hundred sheep upon his manor of Chaldon, which was confirmed first by King John, and afterwards, on the 24th of April, 1234, at Caniton, by Henry III.² He was succeeded in this fief by his brother William. WILLIAM HARANGE confirmed the donation of his uncles, Geoffrey the priest and Roger, to the hospital at Pont-Audemar, to be held of himself and heirs; and gave himself to it, as capital lord of the fee, all the customs thereupon, for an annual rent of 12*d.* at Michaelmas.³ And in 1269 Ralph le Spernissin, one of his knights, gave to Abbotsbury abbey a virgate in his fee of Chaldon-Herring.⁴ The name of his son, ELIAS HARANGE, occurs in the Great Pipe Roll of Wiltshire, of the 27th Henry III. 1243-4: he was sire to Philip and Adam. PHILIP HARANGE was called upon in 1278 to shew by what warrant he claimed wreckage on his manor of Langton-Sarnevil, in Dorset, and he declared that the right had been exercised by his progenitors at a period beyond all memory.⁵ At his death he held one knight's-fee at Winterborne-Harange, of John de Beauchamp.⁶ ADAM HARANGE was also required to shew by what right he claimed wreckage on his Dorsetshire estates, and returned the same answer as his brother.⁷ In 1304 Edward I. addressed a writ to the sheriff of Dorset, to hold an assize for decision of the right of common pasture at Wode Street near Combe-Kaines, in an action brought by Adam Heryng against John le Moigne and Philippa his wife:⁸ but three years before this he was defendant in a similar action brought against him by the abbot of Bindon, relative to common pasture at Chaldon-Herring.⁹ He appears to have left four sons, Walter, Raymund, Nicholas, and John.

RAYMOND HERYNG, at the death of Sir Nicholas Poyntz, in 1312, was found to hold lands of him at Langdon-Heryng.¹⁰ At his own death, in

¹ Gall. Christ. Instr. p. 24.

² Cartulary of Pont-Audemar.

³ Plac. de Quo Warranto, vol. i. p. 182.

⁴ Id. p. 184.

⁵ Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 547.

⁶ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 911 a.

⁷ Dug. Mon. vol. i. p. 280 a.

⁸ Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 438.

⁹ Abb. Rot. Or. vol. i. p. 137, 32 Ed. I.

¹⁰ Id. vol. i. p. 119, 29 Ed. I.

A.D. 1424. his father fought, or in civil occupations merely, must remain matter of conjecture. One fact, however, seems indisputable, that he was early introduced into public life, if what many authorities state be correct, that he was chosen a parliamentary representative in the 2d year of Henry the Sixth; and

1373, 46 Edward III., he held one carucate at North Heryngstone, of Walter Heryng, as of his manor of Chaldon,¹ and lands at Winterton of the abbot of Bindon;² leaving by Isabel his wife a son Robert, then eight years old; and till he should be of age, the king committed the custody of his one-third of the manor of Plumbergh, Essex, to one John Puckpel, for five marks annually.³ In that same year, 1373, we find NICHOLAS HERYNGE escheator for Kent, and constituted by the royal letters seneschal and superintendant of all the king's castles and manors in that county.⁴ At the coronation of Richard II. in 1377, he claimed by tenure of the manor of Cateshull in Surrey, in right of Agnes his wife, to be usher of the king's chamber, citing the Red Book of the Exchequer in support of his petition; but it appearing that this claim did not concern the coronation, but the office of usher in general, he was desired to prefer it to the king at a future time, if he thought it expedient.⁵ JOHN HERYNGE was four times returned to parliament for Dorchester, viz. in the years 1323, 1326, 1331, and 1348. But it was to WALTER HERYNG, as the eldest son, that the paternal inheritance of the estates in Dorsetshire descended; and these were much increased by his marriage with Alicia, the sole daughter and heiress of Sir John Syward, of Clenston, which took place before 1339, as he at that time enjoyed Winterborne-Heryng in her right.⁶ He was returned to parliament five times for the county of Dorset, in the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th years of Edward III. A.D. 1337-40. In 1347 he was found to possess one quarter of a fee in North Heryngstone which Philip Harange formerly held;⁷ and the same in Chaldon which Adam Harange once possessed.⁸ His son JOHN HERYNG, in 1419 and 1435, presented to the living of Winterburne St. Nicholas;⁹ and left for his heir JOHN HERRYNG, or Herringham, the father of Elizabeth Russell and Ysolde Delalynde; who died, as has been stated, in 1456, the 34th year of Henry VI. His relict, Joanna, on the 5th of July of that same year, made a presentation to the church of Winterburne St. Nicholas;¹⁰ and on the 3d of September, 1463, exercised the same right in regard to the living of Winterburne Phylpstone.¹¹

^{1 2} Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. pp. 438, 452. ³ Abb. Plac. Rot. 46 Ed. III. p. 320.

⁵ Gent. Mag. vol. ci. pt. ii. p. 112 b.

⁴ Id. 46 Ed. III. p. 332.

⁶ Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 437.

⁸ Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 452.

⁷ Id. vol. i. p. 452.

^{9 11} Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 64.

¹⁰ Id. p. 117.

on the appointment of the receivers and tryers of petitions, A.D. 1424. presented by the Commons as their Speaker. The first business entered upon in this session, was intimately connected with the fortunes of James the First of Scotland, one of the luminaries of the age in which he lived, and whose story has something in it inexpressibly romantic and affecting. When only eleven years old, he was sent by his father to be educated at the court of his ally, Charles the Sixth of France. The vessel in which he embarked, was intercepted by an English squadron,—the Scots had offended Henry by assisting Hotspur in his rebellion,—the prince was detained as a prisoner of state, and committed to the keep of Windsor Castle, where, however, he was treated with all the respect due to his high rank, and honoured by Henry with an attendance equal to that which was enjoyed by his own children.¹ The utmost care was taken of his education, and such were his natural talents that he became one of the most learned and accomplished persons of the times. He was graceful in the dance and skilful in the tourney; in grammar and oratory he had few superiors; he was no mean theologian; played on the harp and lute with masterly effect, and beguiled the weary hours of his confinement by the composition of various poems, which have in them a life and freshness not very dissimilar to Chaucer's. It is in fact easy to trace in them his study of the same writers that influenced the fancy of that patriarchal poet; for the tales of Boccaccio furnished him with amusement, as the philosophy of Boethius imparted to him fortitude and consolation. In the fortunes also of Chaucer's Palamon he would find an exact counterpart of his own feelings and situation; for the manner in which that knight during his imprison-

¹ Buchanan's Scotland, p. 222.

A.D. 1424. ment becomes enamoured of the “yonge and freshe Emilie” was the perfect counterpart of his own story. The lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, by whom his affections were thus captivated, was one of the most beautiful women of her age. The prince found means to communicate to her his passion; and his songs to her as she walked in the garden beneath his tower, were not addressed to an unsympathising heart. It was suggested at court that if he were set at liberty, a firm and lasting peace might be established between the two nations. With this view a treaty was set on foot for his liberation from his eighteen years’ captivity, and for his union with the object of his affections. The proposal was highly agreeable to the nation; the treaty being communicated to the Commons by their speaker, Sir John Russell, excited their liveliest satisfaction; they appointed a committee to wait upon the Duke of Gloucester, to present him with their hearty thanks for his message, and their high approbation of the measure. The prince was accordingly set free. Happy in the possession of each other, and loaded with rich presents, the noble pair set forward on their journey; and on May 22, 1424, with every demonstration of public joy, were solemnly crowned at Scone, king and queen of Scotland. James’s future history cannot be reflected on without the strongest emotions of admiration and pity. He forgot not on his throne the lessons of philosophy and wisdom which he had learned in his adversity; but diligently applied himself to execute the duties of his station with a firm impartiality. He restrained the oppressions of his nobles; he caused justice to be equally administered; invited over learned men from Italy and France to preside in his universities, and went in person through the kingdom, frequently like the Arabian caliph, in disguise, to watch over the execution of

his orders. This conduct rendered him the darling of the people; but the salutary authority which he exercised over his barons excited their resentment; and neither the heroism of the lady, who, to prevent the entrance of his assassins into his apartment, thrust her arm into the place of the bar which was missing from the door, nor the devotion of his queen, who rushed between him and the dagger, could avert a stroke from which humanity recoils. Twice wounded in her ineffectual attempts to shield him, the queen had the anguish to behold him perish at her feet; and the only consolation which her agony could ever receive, if consolation it could be pronounced, was the terrible punishment which an indignant people inflicted on his murderers. A.D. 1432.

The good qualities and ability displayed by Sir John Russell in this parliament were generally acknowledged; so that being returned a second time to parliament in the 10th of Henry the Sixth, he was a second time chosen speaker by the Commons; and in this station, throughout the disputes that took place between the Gloucester and Winchester factions, is recorded to have conducted himself with equal prudence and impartiality. He sat a third time for Weymouth,¹ in the parliament of 1450, wherein the Duke of Suffolk was impeached of treason; a charge in which the public voice so fully concurred, that the king, to save the favourite, was compelled to interpose, and to proclaim before the peers an edict for that banishment from which he never returned. The date of Sir John Russell's death is unknown: he appears to have left a second son, named Thomas; but whether he survived his father, is matter also of uncertainty.

¹ Hutchins' Dorset. vol. i. pp. 405, 6.

JOHN RUSSELL, ESQUIRE.

A.D.
1461-83.

Shortly after the impeachment and banishment of Suffolk, arose that bloody feud of the two Roses, which for twenty years convulsed the nation like an earthquake, and, stirring up into fury the passions of their respective partisans, deluged the country with the blood of its bravest and noblest chevaliers. The history of this period is on all hands allowed to be exceedingly uncertain; the light which has hitherto been thrown on the fortunes of the family by the public records of the kingdom, is found wholly to forsake us; and even after the scenes of horror attendant on that feud were terminated by the battle of Barnet, and the establishment of Edward the Fourth upon a throne that had been so formidably shaken, the obscurity is prolonged by the loss of all the parliamentary returns for several successive reigns. The part therefore which John, the son of Sir John Russell, took in public affairs can only be surmised: yet we find him on the accession of Edward the Fourth, keeper of the royal artillery in Carisbrook Castle.¹ When the Duke of Buckingham, in his unsuccessful conspiracy, rose against Richard the Third, the gentlemen of Hants and Devonshire took up arms in his cause; and so odious to the nation was the character of the usurper, that it is probable Mr. Russell joined the conspirators with his relation Sir John Trenchard, and his cousin Sir John Cheverel, who were both deeply implicated in it.² From the title, however, of knight being sunk by our heralds in speaking of him, we may perhaps conclude that he had settled down on his estates in quiet ease, more desirous

¹ Cl. Rot. 1 E. 4. "Russell Joh. hēt officium custodis artillariæ regis infra castrum de Carisbroke."

² Hutchins' Dorset. vol. ii. p. 116. Pedigree, Note O.

A.D.
1483-4.

of enjoying the diversions afforded by his hounds and hawks, than ambitious of occupying any conspicuous station amongst parties who recognised in their contentions no great general principle, and who fought less for the good of their country than from selfishness and passion.

After the death of Henry the Sixth, there is nothing more remarkable than the decline of chivalry and noble feeling, if indeed we may not date the declension from an earlier period. The battles between the partisans of York and Lancaster kept indeed alive the military spirit of the English youth, but debased it from its high and generous devotedness into somewhat very much like pitiless and cold ferocity. The austerity and craft so frequently in action during the war of the two Roses, seemed personally embodied in the character of Richard the Third ; and if the triumphant elevation of the Earl of Richmond to the throne excited for a time the nobler sympathies of the people, the tide soon sunk to its former level. The subsequent impositions practised on the people by the expeditions of Simnel and Warbeck, fostered in the minds of men a spirit of mistrust and dissimulation, which to a biographer renders the retirement of his actors from the stage of history a matter of but small regret. It is observed by the commentator on the Paston letters, which exhibit, it may be presumed, a pretty correct picture of the domestic manners and public virtue of the age, that the whole history of Europe at this period is marked by selfishness and perfidy ; and that the operation of these qualities produced a stagnation of feeling, which prepared the way for that tempest of enthusiasm which shook the world in the succeeding century. With the stirring incidents that then took place, the Russell family will again appear upon the scene, and by the broad light cast upon them by records then for

A.D. 1502. the first time committed to the guardianship of the press, we shall be able to trace their steps with more minuteness and effect. But before entering on this more interesting field, a few particulars remain to be recorded.

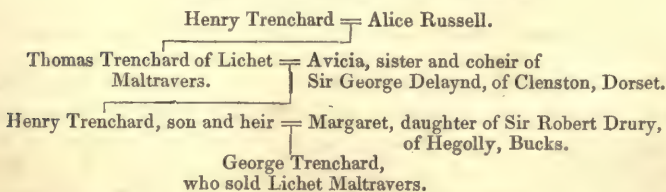
In the 17th of Henry the Seventh, 1502, Mr. Russell authorised possession to Sir Roger Newburgh of 136 acres of land at Combe Kaines, &c. which was parcel of the Herringham estates, in the tenure of one Henry Salter. He had married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of John Froxmere, Esquire, whose family residence was Froxmere Court, at Crowle, in the county of Worcester; and their arms *Sable* a griffin segreiant between three crosslets fitchée *argent*. By this lady he had one son, James, and two daughters, Anne and Alice. Alice was married to Sir Henry, the second son of Sir John Trenchard of Wolverton and Lichet Maltravers, one of the most ancient families in Dorsetshire, deducing its lineage from Pain Trenchard, who in the reign of Henry the First was enfeoffed by Baldwin de Rivers, earl of Exeter, in the lordship of Hordhull, Hants: his descendants are known to have signed various domestic deeds, and to have witnessed several charters to Quarr and other abbeys, down to the reign of Henry the Third. John Trenchard, the fifth in descent from Pain, annexed to a grant during that reign his sign-manual charged with the same arms which the family still bear, viz. *Per pale*, paly of 6, *argent* and *sable*, *azure*. Henry Trenchard, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, had letters patent conferring on him the constablership of Carisbrook Castle, the custody of the forest of Parkhurst, and rangership of the New Forest; and by his marriage with the heiress of Mohun, brought many valuable estates into his family, some of which were forfeited for a time by the part which Sir John, his son, took to

demonstrate his generous indignation against the usurpation of Richard the Third. Sir Thomas Trenchard, the brother-in-law of Alice Russell, was one of those gentlemen who, in 1498, marched to relieve the city of Exeter when it was besieged by Perkin Warbeck. A few years after, he had the honour to entertain at Wolverton Hall the Archduke Philip of Austria and his bride Joanna of Castile, and was made a knight of the sword at the creation of Prince Henry. By her husband, Henry Trenchard, Alice Russell had one son, who possessed the estate of Lichet Maltravers; but in her grandson George the branch became extinct.¹

Anne Russell, the second daughter, was married to John, the second son of Sir Alexander Napier, of Merchiston in Scotland,—who, in 1513, fell on Flodden Field,—by a sister of Robert Stewart, earl of Athol. This distinguished house bore for its arms, *Argent*, a saltire engrailed between four roses *gules*; and had for its earliest known ancestor that John de Napier who died in 1280, in the latter years of the reign of Robert Bruce. The husband of Anne Russell was descended in the ninth degree from him: they fixed their residence at Swyre, near Berwick, and there became the parents of a numerous progeny, well known afterwards amongst the English baronetage.²

John Russell, Esq. lies buried in the church of Swyre,

¹ Lineage of TRENCHARD, from RUSSELL.



² The full genealogy is given by Hutchins, vol. ii. pp. 48, 447.

A.D. 1505. beneath a plain stone inlaid with brass, which bears above a shield of arms—Russell impaling Frocksmere—the following inscription, in Gothic characters: “ Here lyeth John Russell, Esquier, and Elizabeth his wyfe, daughter of John Frocksmer, Esquier, which decessyd y^e xx. yere of King Henry y^e VII. A^o. 1505.

JAMES RUSSELL, ESQUIRE.

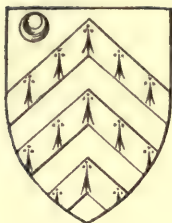
James, the son of John Russell, Esquire, married, for his first wife, Alicia, daughter of John Wyse, Esq. of Sydenham, in Devonshire, by Thomasine, daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford, a knight celebrated for having protected the liberty and honour of a royal lady, by slaying in single combat a Saracen of enormous stature, who besieged her in her castle; in token of which Paladin-like feat, two Saracens were granted as supporters to the family arms, which were *Sable*, three chevrons *ermine*, a crescent for difference.¹ The Wyse family were, however, originally seated at Greston in Cornwall so early as the year 1100, and had only been possessed of Sydenham since 1320.² By this lady, the Lord of Berwick

¹ They furnished, in the following reign, the occasion of a merry pun. Sir William Wise, who was knighted by King Henry VIII., “ having,” says an old writer, “ lente the king his signet, having *powdred eremites* thereon, to seale a letter, ‘ Why, how now, Wyse!’ quoth the kynge, what hast thou lise here?’ ‘ And if it like your majestie,’ quoth Sir William, ‘ a louse is a rich coate; for by giving it, I part armes with the French kynge, in that he giveth the *flowre de lice*.’ Whereat the king heartily laughed, to heare how prettily so byting a taunt was so sodaynely turned to so pleasaunte a conceite.”

² The first of this family found on record, says a writer in the Gentleman’s Magazine, vol. ci. pt. ii. p. 313, is William Wyse de Greston, in 1100, who was the father of Serlo, the sire of Oliver and grandsire of Sir John Wyse, knight, whose son Henry had issue Sir William Wyse, a knight who held sixteen librates of land in the 40th year of Henry III. He had for offspring a second Serlo Wyse, surnamed of Thrusselton, which he inherited

ARMS. VI.

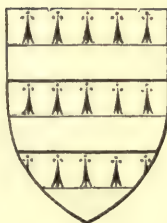
WYSE.



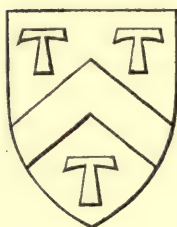
BOREMAN.



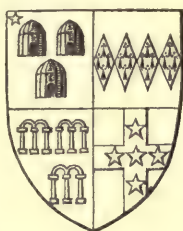
HUSSEY.



JERVOYSE.



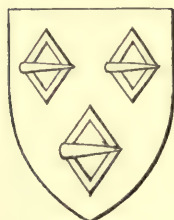
SAPCOTE.



BROUGHTON.



JERNINGHAM.



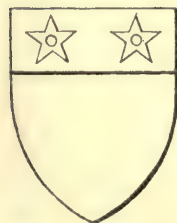
GOSTWICK.



RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.



ST. JOHN.



DUDLEY.



had two daughters, Elizabeth and Thomasine, and two sons, A.D. 1503. named John and Thomas.

Elizabeth Russell, the elder sister, was married, in 1503, to Nicholas Boreman or Bowerman, Esq. lord of Brook and Austerborne or Osborne, in the Isle of Wight, whose mother, Dame Joanna, had the honour of entertaining King Henry the Seventh at her mansion, when he visited the island in the August of 1499, with so much hospitality, that the monarch complimented her on his departure with the present of his antique drinking-horn, and a warrant for a fat buck of the season, to be annually delivered, during her life, out of his forest at Carisbrook,—a record still, it is said, preserved by her lineal descendant, who continues to bear the arms of his progenitors, *Ermine*, on a bend coticed *sable* three boars' heads erased *or*, langued *gules*.

The second daughter, Thomasine, became the wife of Robert, the sixth son of Sir Thomas Hussey, of Shapwick, Dorset, by Christiana, daughter of Sir John Fitz-James, of Redlinch, Somerset. He had seven sisters. His ancestry are found to have acted a distinguished part in our baronial annals, claiming for their first progenitor that Hubert Hussee who

from the Viponts. Serlo Wyse the second had issue Oliver and John. The latter inherited various estates from the Trevages and Sydenhams, and was sheriff for Devon in the 5th Henry IV. His son Thomas married the heiress of Brit, a supposed descendant of Alured de Brito. She brought with her lands in the parish of Stoke Damarell, since better known by the appellation of Mount Wyse. Thomas Wyse was the father of John, whose lady was Thomasine, the daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford, and by this marriage came a third Oliver, the brother-in-law of Alice Russell, who continued the line of descent down to the year 1640, at which time the noted Finch, chief justice, going the western circuit, passed a silly and unworthy jest upon Thomas Wyse, then knight of the shire and sheriff for his native county, at his own table. "Wyse!" said he, "Wyse is but a man, and so is a FOOL." The answer which was returned, proved that with the estates of his ancestor the host inherited also his skill at repartee. "Finch!" said he, "a Finch is but a bird, and so is an owl!"

A.D. 1503. married Helen, daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy, and came over to the conquest of this kingdom from his fief near Cherbourg. Amongst his successors was that William de Hussee, commonly denominated the Good Monk of Glastonbury, who, according to some olden legend, slew the Sultan of Babylon, and was cruelly martyred by the Saracens for that energetic action. The Husseys of Shapwick bore, Barry of six, *ermine and gules*; whilst those of Lincolnshire, sprung from the same noble stock, gave *Or a cross vert*. Robert Hussey had two sons by his lady, the second of whom, Bartholomew, espousing Mary, daughter of Sir R. Knightley, left issue one son, John, who died childless, and Roger, who married into the family of the Tregonwells.

Thomas Russell, the second brother of Elizabeth and Thomasine, became one of the most popular members in the parliaments of Henry the Eighth. He was knighted in the reign of that monarch; and although he boldly opposed Cardinal Wolsey during his pride of power, yet he had the generosity to befriend him in disgrace, without incurring Henry's displeasure; it being by his instrumentality that Thomas Cromwell was brought into that parliament where he made so successful a speech in defence of his cashiered master.¹ Sir Thomas married the daughter and heiress of Jervoyse of Sutton-Hall, Brent-Bradfield, in the county of Suffolk, whose arms were, *Argent*, a chevron between 3 *taus sable*; and it is probable that he was the ancestor of other branches of the Russell family, who are found a few centuries after settled in Cambridgeshire and Hunts. He had certainly a son, whose name, however, is unknown; and a daughter Jane, the wife of Edmund Wright, Esq. of Sutton Hall.²

After the death of Alice Wyse, James Russell again

¹ Guthrie's Peerage, vol. i. p. 255.

² Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 568.

married : his second lady was named Joanna, to whom and A.D. 1509. to his sons, by will dated 1505, and witnessed by Sir Henry Russell and Nicholas Boreman, he bequeathed his whole estate, and directed his body to be buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Swyre : yet he lived to have the satisfaction of seeing his eldest son in the road to that distinction which he afterwards obtained, expiring in 1509, the first year of the reign of Henry the Eighth. With every befitting ceremony, his sons, whom he had constituted his executors, prepared for the performance of their last duties, according to the ritual then in use, and with the form prescribed by the heralds for a gentleman of his degree.

When all things necessary for the funeral were ready, the coffin was removed from the chapel at Barwick,¹ and placed in a chariot : over the body was an effigy of the deceased, covered with cloth of sable, overwrought with a white cross of satin, and the chariot garnished with penoncelles. It was preceded by the Cross, the clerk and gentlemen in mourning, two and two, the chaplain and executors wearing their hoods upon their shoulders, followed by three gentlemen in mourning-gowns, bearing respectively the helm, the crest, and coat-of-arms of the deceased. Behind the chariot went a numerous band of mourning gentlemen, relatives, and servants. When the procession had arrived at the west door of Swyre church, the body was received with incense by the priest, and borne into the choir, duly supported at the four corners of the rich cloth that covered it, by four gentlemen of estate, and set under a hearse hung round with cloth of sable, and adorned

¹ I have hitherto, in speaking of this hamlet, used the original orthography, a *Berewic*, signifying, in the language of the Domesday Book, either a manor, or a member severed from the body of one. But a change in its designation was introduced, perhaps about this time, and the hamlet now goes by the name of Barwick.

A.D. 1509. with wax-lights, penoncelles, and scutcheons. The floor within the rails of the hearse, and the forms on which the mourners rested, were strewn with rushes. The chief mourner standing with those who bore the helm, the crest, and wreath, at the head of the bier, the choir sang the anthems; at the *Kyrie Eleison* was said a Paternoster for the soul of the deceased, and the coffin was deposited in its sepulchre. The helm and crest were set on the high altar; and early on the morrow, after the three masses of the blessed Virgin, the Trinity, and Requiem were said, the coat-of-arms was presented by two gentlemen of dignity, and next the helm and crest. These offerings being made, a sermon was delivered, and at the conclusion of the mass the penoncelles were presented, and the ceremony closed. In a stone over the spot where the coffin was interred, a brass was inserted, which bears beneath the arms of Russell impaling Wyse, the following inscription: “ Here lyeth James Russell, Esquier, and Alys hys wyfe, daughter of John Wise, Esquier, who decessyd the first yere of King Henry the VIII. anno M.CCCCC.IX.”

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE VISIT OF THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP OF AUSTRIA, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE FIRST GENERAL CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.

A.D. 1506-1523.

John, the son of James Russell, is introduced to the court of Henry VII. 1506 . . . At the sieges of Therouenne and Tournay ; his exploits there . . . Battle of the Spurs, 1513 . . . Made deputy of Tournay, 1514 . . . Scheme for the seizure of the White Rose, 1517 . . . Receives the King's letters for the restoration of the city, 1519 . . . At the interview of the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520 . . . At the sack of Morlaix, where he is knighted by the Earl of Surrey, 1523 . . . Treaty of Bruges . . . Bourbon's injuries and overtures . . . Sir John Russell sent to him, June 1523 . . . Negotiates his adhesion to the interests of England . . . Bourbon escapes from France . . . Battle of Bray . . . Retreat of the Lance-knights . . . Francis endeavours to entrap the Duke . . . But he avoids the snare, and reaches the camp of the Imperialists in Italy.

JOHN RUSSELL, ESQ.

ON the 11th of January, 1506, the inhabitants of the southern coast of Dorsetshire were alarmed by the appearance of three foreign vessels, which, after a night of violent tempest, seemed making for the port of Weymouth. Uncertain whether they came in enmity or peace, the gentlemen and people of the country thronged towards the beach, after sending to inform Sir Thomas Trenchard and Sir John Carew of their possible danger, the former governor of the coast, the latter sheriff of the county. They immediately came to Weymouth, attended with a considerable band of pikemen, and were here apprised that the three ships had formed part of a large navy, which on the 6th had sailed from Flanders, to accompany

A.D. 1506. to Spain the Archduke Philip and his bride Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, the allies of England ; but that during the late tempest they had parted company, and the prince, being sick and weary with the tossing of the seas, was desirous to refresh himself awhile on land. Upon this intimation, Sir Thomas waited on the Archduke, and with the respect due to such a visitor, invited him to his house at Wolverton—an embattled mansion, not far distant, which he had just finished building—until he could inform the king of his arrival ; who would naturally, he surmised, be desirous to repay the attentions which he had formerly received from Philip when he visited Calais. It was contrary to the wishes of the Archduke's counsellors that he had landed at all in Henry's dominions ; and being desirous to prosecute his voyage with as little delay as his exigence permitted, he would willingly have excused himself to Sir Thomas ; but perceiving that the latter was reluctant to forego his point, and considering that his company might possibly be obstructed, if they offered to return on board, he made a merit of necessity, and gratified the knight by acceding to his wishes. Messengers were immediately despatched to Henry with the intelligence, who testified his satisfaction by requesting Sir Thomas to entertain his guest in the most honourable manner till he might come himself to welcome him in person. It was during this interval that John, the son of James Russell, Esq., by what would generally be termed a happy casualty, but which he seems to have regarded in a higher point of view,¹ laid the first foundation

¹ He changed the ancient motto of his family for that which is at present borne, and which implies his acknowledgment of the certainty of an overruling Providence in what may seem to be merely the accidents of human life —“CHE SARA, SARA.”

of his future honours: for, being just returned from his travels on the continent, with the highest reputation for his skill in foreign languages, and a mind enriched by much and various observation in Spain and other countries, he was invited by his kinsman to assist in the entertainment of his princely visitor. The Archduke was delighted to find so excellent an interpreter, and was equally charmed with his sprightly conversation and polite address: so that when he formed his resolution not to wait for Henry's arrival, but proceed at once to Windsor, he requested Mr. Russell and his cousin by all means to attend him on his journey. During the entertainments that followed the political discussions of the two monarchs, the Archduke spoke of Mr. Russell to the king, as a young man of the most promising endowments, to whose courteous attentions he felt himself indebted, and who, from his varied knowledge and capacity, was well fitted to do credit to any employment with which he might be charged. The commendation excited Henry's curiosity, whose practice it was to engage in his affairs the ablest men he could discover, and who was perpetually making notes and memorials whom to employ, to intrust, to inquire of, or to reward.¹ Russell was accordingly introduced, and found himself in the presence of "a slender but comely personage, with a reverend countenance a little like a churchman, which, as it was not very winning or pleasing, so neither was it strange nor dark,—the face as of a well-disposed person, but one which would have been to the dis-

¹ Bacon, p. 243; who mentions a curious anecdote,—that his monkey, set on, as was supposed, by some one of his chamber, tore, upon one occasion, his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance he left it out; at which the court, ("that liked not those pensive accounts"), was almost convulsed with laughter.—*Life of Henry VII.*

A.D. 1506. advantage of a painter, for it had the best expression when he spoke.”¹ Mr. Russell, on his part, as we learn from Lloyd, “had a moving beauty that waited on his whole body, a comportment unaffected, and such a comeliness in his mien, as exacted a liking, if not a love, from all that saw him ; the whole set off with a person of a middle stature, neither tall to a formidableness, nor short to a contempt, straight and proportioned, vigorous and active, with pure blood and spirits flowing in his youthful veins.”² His prepossessing appearance strengthened Henry’s favourable impressions : he appointed him a gentleman of his privy chamber, and uniformly distinguished him by a more than ordinary degree of kindness. The Archduke, before leaving England, sought to requite Sir Thomas Trenchard for his hospitality by some splendid presents ; but that gentleman, fully satisfied with the honour of entertaining such a guest, declined accepting either from him or his own sovereign any other recompense than the prince and his consort’s portraits painted by Mabuse, and a china bowl of singular rarity ; both of which are still preserved as heirlooms in the family.³ This painting, which represents the royal pair in the full bloom of youthful beauty, amply vindicates the prince’s right to his surname of *the Handsome*, and cannot be contemplated without emotion, when we reflect that Philip died prematurely in the following September, after but three months’ enjoyment of his kingdom of Castile, and that, from the shock which she thereby received, the mind of Joanna became a total wreck.

During the short time that Henry the Seventh survived Mr. Russell’s introduction to him, no opportunity for dis-

¹ Bacon’s H. VII. p. 246. ² State Worthies, vol. i. p. 320. Lond. 1766.

³ A copy of these two portraits in enamel, by Henry Bone, R.A., is in the collection of the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

tion seems to have been presented to the latter. Nar- A.D. 1509.
row, however, as the sphere might be in which his qualities were exercised, it cannot be supposed that he was a passive spectator of the incidents that passed around him. But, conscious that to rise at court it was not sufficient to possess himself simply of the favour of his sovereign, he would naturally seek to render this enduring, by conciliating the regard of the king's counsellors, and cultivating the friendship of the most distinguished courtiers. And joining to a brisk and generous emulation great equability and steadiness of principle, he had rarely, if ever, the misfortune of losing those whose attachment he had once acquired. He was thus, on the accession of Henry the Eighth, June 24th, 1509, continued in his first appointment; and being but little older than his youthful sovereign, engaged his favourable notice by participating in all those magnificent frolics of his fancy—the dance, the masque,¹ the pageant, and the tourney—with which the first years of his reign were so romantically coloured. “In dancing,” indeed, says his quaint commentator, “he was not too exquisite, for that is vanity; but his dancing was a graceful exercise wherein he was carelessly easy, as if it were rather natural motion than curious and artificial practice which endeared his severer virtues. But the favour that proceeds from personal grace and comeliness, although it seem to be doubly strengthened, is the soonest dissolved and dissipated, there being nothing so inconstant as men's humours, which vary not alone through change of years, but frequently by accident and small occasions. Though Mr. Russell therefore brought himself into court by what did humour, he kept himself in there by what obliged;

¹ The first masque given in England was in 1512. It is described by Hall in his Chronicle, p. 16 a.

A.D. 1513, standing not so much upon his prince's pleasure as his interest, and adding to his more airy courtships the solidity of serviceable actions."¹ From the softer court, therefore, in the words of the same writer, we must attend him to the camp.

In the hostilities commenced against France in 1513, when Henry, now at the age of twenty-one, resolved in person to support his troops, who had begun the campaign by the siege of Therouenne in Picardy, Mr. Russell volunteered his service. In the march to Therouenne, he probably ranked, with the rest of the king's household, under the banner of the Trinity, preceded by the standards of the Red Dragon and the Virgin, and followed by that borne by Sir Henry Guildford, emblazoned with the arms of England, under which was the king himself, and others to the number of three thousand. Twelve cannons were with the king, of unusual size, which were strangely enough named "the Twelve Apostles." Their weight was such, that one of them being overturned in a lagoon, a hundred workmen were next day employed to draw it out. Whilst thus engaged, they were surprised by a party of the enemy, who compelled them to abandon it. Impatient to signalise himself by some intrepid exploit, Mr. Russell had the boldness to attempt its recovery, in the face of ten thousand French, under the Count St. Pol; and what is yet more remarkable, with but two hundred and fifty adventurers under him, as resolute as himself, he succeeded in the effort.² Arrived before the city, six weeks were consumed in unavailing operations; and the resistance was found so salutary in averting his great danger, that Louis sent express orders that it should be revictualled at all hazards.

^{1 2} Lloyd; State Worthies, vol. i. p. 321.

A choice body of Albanians was accordingly appointed to A.D. 1513. the hazardous enterprise.¹ The attempt was made on the 16th of August; but Henry had secret intelligence of the project, and, when his advanced guard was attacked, detached several companies to various points to prevent the meditated succour. To the conduct of one of these, consisting of fifteen hundred men, Mr. Russell was appointed. He executed his share of the charge with such despatch, that when he returned to present himself before the king, he was received with marks of anger and impatience. "Eh, eh! Russell," said the king; "whilst we are fooling, the town is relieved." "So it is indeed," replied he; "for I have sent them two thousand carcasses, and they have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provision." "Aye, but," said the king, "I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban." "That," said Mr. Russell, "was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon." "Nay, then," said the king, "by'r Lady, thou hast not only my pardon, but my favour too."² The marks of condescension which Mr. Russell soon received, proved that Henry was little less pleased with his diligence on this occasion, than his father had been with that of Wolsey formerly.

Mr. Russell returned from his exploit in time to take part in the engagement that succeeded. The French cavalry, disappointed of their object, receded to the hills of Guingette. The heights once gained, they considered the danger of pursuit as over, dismounted from their steeds, and unbraced their helmets for refreshment. Henry, however, commanded a strong party of horse to move forward. An advance of six miles brought them again in sight of the enemy, who had

¹ Martin du Bellay, p. 21, tom. 17. of the "*Collec. Univ. des Mém.*"

² Lloyd, vol. i. p. 322.

A.D. 1513. scarcely time to remount their horses, when the English were upon them. The archers shot apace, and the spearmen, leaving the foot in their eagerness to engage, to the cry of "St. George!" set freshly on the right division, cast down one of their standards, and threw the front into disorder. The French commander, after the first skirmish, sounded a retreat. His cavalry, obedient to the trumpet, retired at a stately pace; but the ardour of attack in a little time compelled them to change it, first to a sharp trot, and then to a quick gallop. But the English dashed after them in gallant trim, and it soon became a contest which should spur his horse the fastest. The French threw away their spears, their maces, and their swords, and cut off the bars of their horses, that they might run the lighter;—the chase continued for three miles.

The French would have named this engagement after the village of Spours, near which it commenced; but the English, who had never ridden at a swifter pace, chose rather to term it, by a happy pun, the Battle of the *Spurs*, as thinking that the enemy were more indebted in it to their *spurs* than to their *spears*. The appellation pleased the fancy of both armies, and we accordingly find the French annalists acquiescing in the joke. Twelve score French nobles formed the captives of the day: it was soon followed by the capitulation of the town; and Henry, fatally slighting the opportunity of striking at the capital, proceeded to another equally insulated object—the attack of Tournay.

On his way, he spent a few days in visiting the Imperial family at Lisle; and then sat down before the city. Mr. Russell was one of the sixty that went with the king to cut off the passage between the city and the army. Being very feebly garrisoned, it offered but a slight defence. On the

29th of September the citizens capitulated, and this virgin A.D. 1513. city, which bore engraved upon its gates the boast that it had never been sullied by surrender, was entered by the king in ostentatious state. As he passed to celebrate *Te Deum* for his conquest, there were shouts in the streets, and, what was more gratifying to his youthful vanity, ladies at all the windows, to witness the procession.

This harmless triumph could little disconcert the King of France, who saw with secret exultation "*la Journée des Espérons*" pass unimproved, and the crisis neglected which might have placed his crown in jeopardy. But the whole expedition seems to have been commenced and carried forward in the spirit of romance, to gratify the monarch's passion for military show, rather than with any settled plan of practical utility. The campaign was now ended, but not his love of pageantry. Bearing in mind the courtesy with which he had been received at Lisle, Henry sent an invitation to the Lady Margaret and the Prince of Castile, his nobles and her ladies, for whose amusement a number of brilliant entertainments were devised that lasted ten entire days, and concluded on the evening of the 18th of September by a sumptuous banquet of a hundred dishes; after which the ladies danced, and then came in the king and eleven others in a masque, richly apparelled, with bonnets of gold; and when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garments of the masquers were cast off among the ladies, "take who could take." Mr. Russell was one of this eleven; and "having been as severely active at the siege as the oldest soldier, was now as indocently pleasant as the youngest courtier."¹

After all things had been arranged for its future security, Henry committed the city to the government of Sir Edward

¹ Lloyd's Worthies, vol. i. p. 321.

A.D. 1514. Poynings, appointed his council, and then returned to England with his army, landing at Dover on the 24th of September.

The death, on the 9th January, 1514, of the Lady Anne de Bretagne, wife of the French king,¹ prepared the way for overtures of peace with England, to which Leo the Tenth became a mediator. A treaty of alliance was accordingly concluded in August, after proposals had been made for the hand of the Princess Mary, the young and lovely sister of Henry.

Louis was accustomed to say, that "Love was the king of the young, but the tyrant of the old;" a maxim which he amusingly illustrated by his own example, being at this period upwards of fifty-three years of age. He was eager, notwithstanding, to accomplish the marriage, which was solemnised in October with courtly state, and the coronation of the youthful queen was celebrated by pageants of unusual splendour. Mr. Russell had the happiness to be one of the sixteen that were nominated to answer the noted challenge of the Dauphin,³ in the tourney held at Paris in her honour, the 7th of November; and there, in view of all the beauty and chivalry of France, he vindicated, with Charles Brandon and others of his countrymen, the gallantry and skill-at-arms of England.

¹ "The greatest enjoyment of this princess," say the Bayard Memoirs,² "consisted in doing good, and her court was the asylum and the school of every virtue." She was no less an encourager of learning than her husband; and whilst the pages of Cicero formed the favourite occupation of his leisure, she solaced hers with the lays of the French minstrels. How highly she regarded genius may be gathered from an anecdote recorded of her. Passing one day from her apartments to the king's, and seeing in a gallery Alain Chartier, his secretary, leaning on a table and asleep, she stooped down and saluted him, saying to her maidens, "We may not of our princely courtesy pass by, and not honour with our kiss the mouth from which have issued so many sweet ditties and golden poems."

² Collec. Univ. des Mém. vol. xv. p. 456.

³ Lloyd's Worthies, vol. i. p. 322.

Tournay was, by mutual agreement, still retained by Henry ; and Sir Edward Poynings resigning, from ill-health, before the close of the year, the Lord Mountjoy was appointed governor in his place, with Mr. Russell for his deputy.

In 1517, the latter received a grant in fee of certain lands at Tournay, and in that or the succeeding year was active in concerting measures for the seizure of a personage whose pretensions gave great uneasiness to the English court. This was Richard de la Pole, termed familiarly "La Blanche Rose," one of the two sons of Elizabeth, sister of Edward the Fourth, who, being regarded by the partisans of the House of York as the living representative of its claims, was brought forward by the enemies of Henry as a pretender to the English crown. On the throne of France, to the virtuous but aged Louis had succeeded Francis the First, who, both by natural genius and ambition, was fitted and disposed to take a sprightly part in the contest that was opening on the theatre of Europe. The prospect of inheriting his imperial crown being presented by Maximilian to the hopes of the English monarch, roused Francis, recent from his conquest of Milan, to a somewhat formidable counteraction. A plot was formed, whereby, whilst Denmark, with the person of the White Rose, was to invade England from the Baltic, the Duke of Albany was to land in Scotland, in support of his pretensions, and the Duke of Bourbon to attack Tournay. The particulars of the plot were revealed to the English court by Sir Richard Jerningham, captain of the garrison ; and as the peace of the kingdom continued to be menaced after this project was abandoned, by the refusal of Francis to deliver up the pretender, instructions were sent out to have him seized, if it were practicable. Diligent inquiries were accordingly instituted by the king's envoys in Flanders, to ascertain

A.D. 1517. by what means and agency it might be compassed ; and an individual of Burgundy was at length found, who signified his readiness to engage in the dangerous enterprise, if his scheme and conditions were assented to. To prevent all risk of discovery in the negotiation, Mr. Russell and a French gentleman, named Thuvionville, went from Tournay to St. Nicholas, in Lorrain, to meet the party, received his propositions, and returned in safety, undiscovered, to the city. The gentlemen stipulated for three thousand crowns of gold in hand, an annuity of two hundred more, with security for their payment at Calais, and an asylum there if the business should transpire. And as the affair was one of so much danger, and could not be effected alone, he required to have four associates, with an annuity to each of fifty crowns, and additional remunerations if the plot should be successful. These conditions, signed by Russell and his colleague, were transmitted to Wolsey, November 16;¹ the gentleman consenting to wait one month for an answer, at his house in Burgundy. But the treaty seems not to have met with the full sanction of the crown, or to have been too long under consideration ; the opportunity passed by ; and the political intrigues of France for the restoration of the White Rose dynasty, as it suited her occasions, were terminated only by the death of the pretender, a few years after, at Pavia.

Francis, in the meanwhile, being baffled in his scheme for distressing Henry by means of this personage, sent to England a splendid embassy to treat for the restoration of Tournay. As the occupation of this city was found by Henry to be attended with more expense than profit, he consented to its delivery, on receiving from Francis, for the city, six hundred thousand

¹ MSS. Cott. Caligula, D. vii. p. 33.

crowns; for the new-built castle there, four hundred thousand; and other sums for the liberties and franchises which Henry had granted to the citizens. Letters for its restitution were accordingly directed to Mr. Russell,¹ in the absence of the Earl of Worcester, the chief commissioner. And “then,” says Hall, “began the captains and the soldiers to mourn, and many a young gentleman and many a tall yeoman to wish they had not spent their time there.” A.D. 1520.

In the following year we find Mr. Russell an eye-witness and attendant on the king, in his memorable interview with Francis, in the “Field of the Cloth of Gold.” In our perusal of the old Chronicler’s description of the scene, the quaint and graphic Hall, who was commissioned by Henry to commemorate the meeting, which he has done to the merest trifle, we are insensibly led back to the days of chivalry and fable, and are indulged with pictures and pageants more florid and magnificent than any we can meet with in romance—than those which wait on Chaucer’s Lady of the Leaf, or sparkle in the tourney between Palamon and Arcite.

Mr. Russell was one of the selected forty-five who had the envied honour of being on the very spot, at the moment of the storied meeting, when

Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
Met in the vale of Ardes; ’twixt Guynes and Ardes
He was then present, saw ’em salute on horseback,
Beheld them when they lighted;—men might say,
Till this time Pomp was single, but now married
To one above itself. Each following day
Became the next day’s master, till the last
Made former wonders it’s. To-day the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,

¹ Dug. Bar. vol. ii. p. 336 a.

A.D. 1520.

Shone down the English ; and to-morrow, they
 Made Britain, India. Every man that stood
 Shewed like a mine ; their dwarfish pages were
 As cherubins, all gilt. The madams, too,
 Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear
 The pride upon them, that their very labour
 Was to them as a painting. Now this mask
 Was cry'd incomparable ; and the ensuing night
 Made it a fool, and beggar. The two kings,
 Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
 As Presence did present them.—When these Suns
 (For so they phrase them,) by their heralds challenged
 The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
 Beyond Thought's compass,—that old fabulous story,
 Be'ing now seen possible, enough, got credit,
 And Bevis was believed.¹

It is natural to suppose that, being in the heyday of life, and his imagination and sympathies smitten with the scenes that passed before him, Mr. Russell entered, heart and soul, into the spirit of these gorgeous festivities, and measured lances in the tourney with many of the jewelled knights who shone in uniforms of blue and yellow, emblazoned with the badge of the French king, the emblematic Salamander. But all the various acts of the brilliant drama thus enacted, have been too frequently rehearsed to need recital here.²

¹ Shakspeare's Henry VIII. Scene I.

² It must remain matter of regret to the lovers of antiquity and art, that the sculptures at Rouen which were designed to commemorate the procession to the Field of Gold, on the part of Francis, have never yet received that perfect illustration of the pencil which the characteristic nature of the reliefs deserve, and the perishing materials on which they are wrought, incessantly implore. The plates of Ducarel are very poor ; those of Montfaucon are much better ; but neither do the subject justice.

Since the above note was written, a series of able drawings of these interesting sculptures has been happily executed by Fragouard, for the Normandy division of "*Voy. Pitt. dans l'Ancienne France*," edited by Nodier and De Cailleux.

The two sovereigns parted on the 24th of June, after A.D. 1522. giving and receiving the most splendid presents. With them vanished the magnificent and costly show — the palaces illuminated with “bise and aumail,” the cloths of arras, gold, and crimson that carpeted the ground, the caparisoned and prancing steeds, the ladies and plumed knights, with all their chains of gold and spangled baldrics, and those velvets, satins, cloths of silver, and incomparable damasks on the persons of armed nobles, which had tinged the stirring landscape with the colours of the rainbow :—

“Come immagin talor d’ immensa mole
Forman nubi nell’ aria, e poco dura,
Che ’l vento la disperde o solve il sole,
Como sogno sen va, ch’ egro figura.”

Ger. Lib. xvi. 70.

The friendship which these courtesies were intended to cement, had a date almost as brief. In 1522, Charles the Fifth visited England, was received on the sands of Dover by a splendid retinue of nobles, knights, and bishops, became a welcome guest at Windsor, and was entertained with Henry’s usual round of banquets and quaint pageants. A treaty of marriage with the Princess Mary, the powerful interest of Wolsey secured, and war declared against France, were the political results of this short visit.

In this conjuncture of affairs, Mr. Russell was again called into action ; and with the Earl of Surrey, as lord-admiral, and two-and-twenty other gentlemen, concerted an attack on the French coasts, under colour of clearing the high seas for the emperor’s return to Spain. He accompanied the earl to Southampton, where the Flemish fleet of 180 sail was stationed ; and after escorting Charles with 30 ships to

A.D. 1522. Biscay, made a swift and unexpected descent upon the shore of Brittany. Debarking with his company of 7000 men, the earl marched to Morlaix, garrisoned only by 100 horsemen and the like number of archers, and commenced a sharp attack upon the town. The principal engineer, pointing one of his falcons at the gates, with great dexterity struck the lock off the wicket, and the soldiery advanced under cover of the smoke. In this rush towards the postern, Mr. Russell was wounded by an arrow, which deprived him of the sight of his right eye. The Bretons disputed the passage bravely for awhile, till being slain or put to flight, the other gates were opened, and the town possessed and put to sack. When the admiral regained his vessel, he summoned to him those gentlemen who had most obviously displayed their courage, and knighted them on deck, Sir John Russell, Sir Francis Bryant, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir Thomas More, being of the number. The earl dispatched his letters to the king with tidings of their bravery and his full success; and the whole party on their return to England were received by Henry with marks of peculiar regard.

Sir John was now in the high road to fortune and distinction. His coolness, intrepidity, and promptitude in action, had been frequently displayed. His ingenuity and address in difficult emergencies was a topic of general amusement in Henry's saloons. In a sally from Calais he had once been taken prisoner, and redeemed himself from the officer that took him for 250 crowns, on condition that he would conduct him safe from the French quarter, which he did. Drawing then his sword, he called upon the gentleman to surrender; and compelled him as the price of liberation to restore the money with an additional *douceur* of tenscore pieces, which

he threw amongst the common soldiers.¹ From serving one king in France, he had the reputation of overcoming another in England, namely, James of Scotland, and of challenging a third at Paris.² Yet, from his native generosity, and mildness of disposition in private life, he is termed by the annalists of his time, "the Gentle, and the Good;" and these various qualities, combined with his fluency in foreign tongues, induced the sovereign and his minister to entrust him now with a secret commission that required extraordinary skill to execute, and in its consequences had a lasting influence on the aspects of the age.

By the treaty which Wolsey had concluded with the Emperor at Bruges in 1521,³ under the sanction of the Pope, it had been secretly agreed, that the king and emperor should unite, not only to defend their own dominions against France, but to recover what belonged to them in that kingdom. The month of March, 1523, was fixed on for the open declaration of their hostility, and the middle of May for an invasion of the French territory by both sovereigns in person at the same time, each at the head of 30,000 foot and of 10,000 horse.

In the interval between these two periods, the mind of the English minister had fluctuated from time to time between peace and war, as his hopes or disappointments of the papacy, from the death of Leo the Tenth, alternately prevailed. The emperor's visit in 1522, reassuring him of this object of his ambition on the death of Adrian, fixed his wavering resolution; and a much more formidable confederacy than at first projected, was quickly organised. It was determined, that whilst Charles with his Spanish army

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 321.

³ Settled Aug. 25; signed Nov. 24.

A.D. 1523. should enter France on the side of Guienne, and Henry with the combined forces of England and Flanders invaded it on the north, a numerous body of German lanceknights should advance into Burgundy, and the three armies, by a simultaneous movement from these three points, proceed into the heart of France, as to a common centre. The various elements for this military tempest were secretly, but rapidly collecting in the spring of 1523. The powers that intended to summon up the storm, waited only until Francis should cross the Alps with his army into Italy, to let the whirlwind loose; and meanwhile looked abroad for an agent equal to the guidance of the irruption on the side of Burgundy. The angry Genius was at hand, in the person of Charles, duke of Bourbon, high *connétable* of France.¹ He was a prince of the most shining talents. In the late wars of Italy, “he had,” says Brantome, “done divinely;” he had acquired reputation in every action, and more especially in the decisive battle of Marignan.² Made viceroy of the Milanese, he endeared himself to the nobility by his obliging services, and to the people by his affability. Having rendered important benefits to the crown, and being extensively beloved, he should have received from Francis all the attentions which his rank, his kindredship, his influence, and above all, his services merited. But Francis was too much under the dominion of his mother Louise, Duchesse d’Angoulême, and converted this powerful friend into a foe by too blindly participating in her aversion to his house. The *connétable* might probably in time have forgotten the unmerited affront which the king had offered him, when he committed

¹ Appointed in 1515, being then twenty-six years old.

² Vide the letter of Francis to his mother, giving an account of the victory. — M. DU BELLAY, tom. xvii. p. 442.

to the Duke d'Alençon, before Valenciennes, the conduct of A.D. 1523. the vanguard, which was a part of his own proper office. But the fresh offences which he received from the duchess, on the death of his lady Suzanne, in 1521, precluded all forgiveness. A tale noticed by Marillac favours the supposition, that Louise, being when this event took place but forty years of age, with a beauty still unfaded, and her love of gallantry unweakened, was not reluctant to enter on a second marriage, and earnestly desiring the appanage which the duke enjoyed in right of his deceased lady, made some efforts, for a season, to appear amiable in his eyes. But Bourbon was little sensitive to female blandishments; and it is easy to believe, that being somewhat disgusted with the treatment he had received, his own lady being dead, who was far from being engaging in person, and the one who now presented herself being past the bloom of youth, he might rudely reply, as he is said to have done, to those who descanted on the advantages of such an alliance,

“ Che non è soma da portar più grave,
Come aver donna, quando à noia s'have.”

Whether this was indeed the case, or whether, as some state, he did not choose to perceive her favourable attentions, his scorn of her beauty awoke in the bosom of the duchess the deepest resentment. She vowed that she would be his ruin, and immediately instituted a suit-at-law, for the restoration of the duchy of Bourbon to the crown. She was encouraged in the iniquitous measure by the Chancellor du Praedt, who could not forget the duke's refusal to sell him some lands which he desired in Auvergne.¹ Notwithstanding Bourbon's

¹ M. du Bellay, p. 489.

A.D. 1523. incontestable right to the disputed property, he had little hope of justice from the parliament of Paris ; and dreading the poverty to which he would be reduced by the loss of his estates, he brooded silently upon some scheme of vengeance. So early as January, 1523, he sent a secret agent to the emperor, who was instructed to detail the story of his wrongs, and to express his readiness to join the confederate sovereigns with 10,000 foot and 500 men-at-arms, so that he might have the hand of one of his sisters with a suitable portion. Francis had some suspicion of his proceedings, and was not insensible to the necessity of conciliating a foe so formidable : but his project of staying the suit, and offering him in marriage the young Princess Renée, was overruled by the imperious Louise, or deferred till it was too late. In the month of March, Bourbon for the last time appeared in Paris. He arrived at court whilst the royal household was at dinner. The queen (Claude) invited him to sit at her table, as she and the king dined that day apart. Francis, hearing he was at the palace, came to the queen's apartments, and as the duke rose to salute him on his entrance, commanded him to sit. " Seigneur," he said, as he bowed to him, " we are told that you are, or are to be, wedded ; is it true ?" The duke said, " Nay." The king replied, " he knew it was ; that he was well aware of his practice with the emperor, and that he would well remember it." " Do you menace me then, sir ?" said the duke ; " I have ill deserved it !" With these indignant words, he retired to his lodging, and was attended thither by all the noblemen of the court, to whom he was deservedly endeared. The next day he departed for his country seat, and on the 12th of May, despatched to Wolsey, with letters of credence, the Sieur de Chateaufort, his counsellor and chamberlain, to disclose what he was medi-

tating, to receive an explanation of what the English court A.D. 1523. might wish him to achieve, and to assure the minister that he would do it, to the best of his power, with very great good will.¹

The offer was eagerly accepted. It was hoped that the resentment of the duke might be made instrumental, not only to ensure the objects of the already-formed confederacy, but to gain for Henry the footing which his ancestors enjoyed in France. Accordingly, in June, whilst the Lord de Beaurain was busy, on the emperor's part, in arranging with the English court the terms and plan of Bourbon's operations, Sir John Russell was despatched, in disguise, to the duke himself, by way of Flanders. The particulars of this secret mission have not transpired, as they were doubtless not committed to writing; but they must have had immediate reference to the pending negotiation. The following letter, however, was addressed by Sir John to the English court, on his arrival at that of the governess of the Netherlands.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO KING HENRY VIII.

SIR,

July 8, 1523.

Pleaseth your highnes to be (informed that on the) day of this instant moneth I departed from Malynes towards my entended Voyage. And arrived at Luxemburg the viiith day of the same; truly I had not yet made myne abode in my Lady Margarettes court for lack of conduite, but only for the helpe of mons^r Deymerie, who for your highnes sake, and at my only request, hath accompanyd me in this Jorney w^t a right substanciall bande of horsemen. I do verely suppose that there is no noble man living out of your realme, that is more desierous to doo unto your highnes more acceptable and thankefull s^rvice than is mons^r Deymerie, who at my comyng unto him, was in a great agony and

¹ MS. Cott. Vitellius, B. V. fol. 184.

A.D. 1523. mervelously greved, for that yo^r highnes had appoynted him but the only number of thre hundred horsemen to do unto you s^rvice in your Riall warres. Hys desier is to do s^rvice his lif enduring unto your highnes only, and to none other prince. Wherefore and forasmuch as he is fully determyned personally to do yo^r highnes s^rvice in yo^r said warres, though he shal be led thereunto in his horse litter, he therefore is desirous to s^rve yo^r highnes with the number of five hundreth horsemen, wich his petition therin I most humbly beseche your highnes to follow. And to send also unto him for his further consolation and comfort yo^r most honorable P^res of thanks as wel for his faitheful s^rvice to your highnes offred, as also for his assured favours to me shewed for your highnes sake at this time, in advaunsing unto me his assured and trusty s^rvauntes. And thus Jesus preserve your highnes, and send your highnes good lif and long. At Luxemburg the viiith day of July.¹

Your humbelle subgett ande servant,

To the kinges highnes.

J. RUSSELL.

It was the practice of Wolsey to require from the agents and ambassadors abroad, a duplicate copy of their despatches: those addressed to himself frequently contain additional particulars, which he was in the habit of himself communicating to the king, or of suppressing, as suited his own separate aims or personal policy of the moment. The letter which Sir John wrote to the cardinal on the same occasion has the following addition :

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

* * * * *

SIR,

In mine repair towards Luxemburgh, it fortunéd me to pass through a town called Hervé, belonging to my lord, the Cardinal

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. V. fol. 193. The orthography of the original letter is here preserved, which may be sufficient for the archaologist; the others that occur will be presented in modern orthography (but without any other alteration), as more acceptable to the general reader.

of Liege (he there being present within the same). Wherefore me A.D. 1523.
seemed that I conveniently could none otherwise do, but to visit
and salute him (like as so I did). And was by him very honourably
and lovingly entertained, for the king's sake and yours; insomuch
that he made unto me right large offers, as well of money, as also
of men and horses for my conduct through his countries, which I
refused to accept or take. Yet, notwithstanding, he enforced me
to be contented that his lordship might pay the costs for my bait
there; and also caused certain of his gentlemen to accompany me
unto my next lodging, and further at my pleasure. Nevertheless,
from thence I caused them to return. And thus Jesus preserve
your grace in continuance of health and prosperity. At Luxem-
burgh the 8th day of July.

Your humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.

In August, Dr. Knight, the English ambassador at Brussels, was instructed to join, on the last day of the month, Beaurain and the Duke of Bourbon, at Bourg-en-Bresse, to conclude the mutual treaty, and to negociate a distinct condition, which had been approved of at Valladolid, for settling upon Henry the crown of France, in the event of a successful issue to the war. This requisition to a minister whose person was every where well known, appeared to him so wild and hazardous, that he declined to execute the commission, and the convention between Beaurain and Bourbon was settled in his absence.¹

When the king and Wolsey learned that Knight had forborne to comply with his instructions, they were thrown into great difficulty, the success of their projects depending so entirely upon the promptness with which the duke should follow up his resolutions, before the suspicions of his sove-

¹ Instructions to Sir John Russell. MS. Vesp. C. p. 66.

A.D. 1523. reign were forcibly awakened. They were sensible of the extreme peril to which any emissary of theirs would be exposed, upon whom letters might be found to the obnoxious duke; yet the necessity of the interview became every day more pressing. In this emergency, Sir John was again applied to, whose willingness to serve his sovereign was increased, rather than diminished by the danger of the enterprise. His commission was sealed and delivered to him on the 2d of August, and taxing his invention for a disguise that should effectually baffle the scrutiny of foreign eyes, he parted for the court of Flanders, journeyed hastily through Lorraine, and dexterously availing himself of every incident that screened him from observance, succeeded both in meeting the emperor's agent at Montbrisen-en-Forêt, and gaining unsuspected access to the duke at his mansion in Chantilly.

After delivering, with Henry's salutations, those of his minister, he opened the business with which he was intrusted. He stated that Henry had received from the Lord Beaurain a copy of the articles agreed to between the duke and emperor, whereby the latter stipulated to contribute one hundred thousand crowns of gold for his military assistance in the war, and in case he should be unable to effect a marriage between him and the Queen-dowager of Portugal, to bestow on him the hand of his other sister, the Lady Catharine. The king, his master, had to regret that his ambassador in Flanders had not found it practicable, by reason of the danger, to be present when the treaty was concluded; but that he had used all possible diligence, from favour to the duke, and for furtherance of the enterprise against their common enemy, to substitute his present messenger, authorised with ample powers to conclude the convention that was wanting on his part. The duke expressed his sense of the

king's goodness to him, and Sir John produced the prepared A.D. 1523. conditions of his court.

By these the English king proposed to advance one hundred thousand crowns on his part, towards raising ten thousand lance-knights and a body of two thousand cavalry, at the head of which the duke was to attack Burgundy; and in the event of their successful conquests, to be requited with Provence, which was then to be erected into a kingdom. And as a preliminary, the duke was invited to acknowledge Henry, who claimed to be considered the rightful inheritor of the French crown, as his natural and sovereign liege lord.

Wolsey had considered it possible that the duke might still shrink from this acknowledgment,¹ and had accordingly furnished Sir John with the arguments he was to use, to induce compliance with the requisition. He was to allege, by a nice distinction, that the duke would thereby depart from no fidelity that he bore to the *crown* of France; that (wronged as he was) it would even tend to the preservation of his honour; and that he might rest assured that he would find in the king's liberality and favour, cause to rejoice that he ever did service and homage to a prince so noble.² But there is every reason to believe that Bourbon was not so scrupulous as to need such "flattering unction." He was deeply wronged; he was dishonoured; and he wanted vengeance, since reparation was denied him. He could not but be aware that he was engaging in an enterprise that would subject him to the opprobrium, not merely of one Bayard, but of all chivalric minds that might prefer death to a charge of treason. But resentment whispered, that his duty was

¹ When this point was first proposed, Bourbon referred it to the Emperor: the object of Sir John's first visit might be connected with this condition.

² Instructions, as before.

A.D. 1523. cancelled by his wrongs, and he assented to the verdict. Sir John prevailed on him to sign all the conditions of the treaty he presented, received the duke's solemn oath that he would assuredly observe its articles, and returned upon his sovereign's part the like ratification. The secret but mighty influence which that interchange was to have upon the future condition and religious prospects of mankind, was what neither party could at that period imagine or foresee. Had Bourbon stood aloof, one necessary link would have been wanting to the chain of events which afterwards stretched the Roman Pontiff in the dust, and dispelled in England the dark credulity of ages.

Information of the ratified agreements being transmitted to the English court, the various military preparations were set in motion around France. Of these intended movements, from the secrecy with which the whole had been concerted, Francis was so ignorant, that he left Paris to join his troops in Italy by the route of Lyons. He was indeed apprised, when he had reached St. Pierre-le-Monstier, by two Norman gentlemen of the duke's household, that the latter had some negotiation on foot with the emperor; but Francis had no suspicion that he meditated more than to withdraw to him into Spain.¹ He resolved, however, to avert, if possible, so dangerous an alliance; and for this purpose visited the duke at Moulins. The duke gave out that he was suffering from sickness. Francis first condoled with his affliction, and then mildly led the conversation to the advice he had received. He was well convinced, he said, of the real good-will which the duke bore to the crown of France, and was satisfied, that, being so nearly allied to him, if he had lent an ear to the

¹ M. du Bellay, tom. xvii., p. 263-5.

emperor's proposals, it was from no want of affection either A.D. 1523.
to him or to his kingdom. But as despair, and the dread of
losing his estates, might somewhat have disturbed his loyalty,
that he might at once dismiss these troubles from his mind,
he asked only that he would stand prepared to accompany
him to Italy, and he would engage to restore to him the
whole of his domains, if the pending process should be de-
cided against him. The duke was too jealous of the king's
sincerity fully to avow his guilt. He frankly admitted that
the emperor had sought his friendship, but disavowed that
he had any idea of listening to his offers. He stated that in
his present state it was impossible to travel; but that as his
physicians declared he might in a few days risk the journey
in a litter, he would then join him at Lyons. The king was
forced to seem contented; but he left behind him the Seigneur
d'Uvarty to attend the duke to Lyons, and departed thither
to accelerate his army into Italy. Bourbon, in a few days,
left Moulins also, on the same route; but on his arrival
at La Palisse, suspicions pressed upon his mind of the king's
inability to right him against the powerful malice of the
Lady Regent;¹ so that, in his reluctance to proceed without
a greater certainty of justice, he feigned an increase of his
disorder, sent Uvarty forward with letters to apprise the king
of his departure, and retired to Chantilly, a strong town of
his own, his usual residence, and where he kept his principal
effects. There he revolved at greater leisure the chances and
consequences of the step he was about taking, and balanced
with the wrongs he had sustained the monarch's courteous
promises. He could not but be sensibly touched with the
king's frankness and forbearance; nor avoid picturing to his

¹ M. du Bellay, tom. xvii., p. 268.

A.D. 1523. mind the frightful desolation that would tear the bosom of his country, if he should prosecute the dictates of his anger and revenge. In a moment of relenting virtue, he sent for the Bishop of Autun, and despatched him with fresh letters and instructions to the king. At this moment, there is no doubt that he was prepared to sacrifice to the welfare of his country the memory of his grievances. He entreated Francis, in his note, to give full credence to the messenger upon what he was intrusted with; assured him, on his honour, that he was unwilling to do him injury; but that, on the contrary, if he would please to render him his rights, and pardon those who had given any provocation in the process, he would serve him loyally and truly to the end of life, with a good and steady heart. Such, indeed, was his present inclination; but the time for reflection was gone by; and some of those minute events, which wait not for the will of man to fix the destiny of nations, were now upon the march, and rendered it abortive.

After Uvarty had reached Lyons, the king was apprised that Bourbon had left the high road, and retired to Chantilly—a circumstance which he construed into a certain proof of the duke's malevolent intentions. He was now roused to a full sense of his danger, and instantly despatched the Bastard of Savoy, grand master of France, the Marshal de Chabannes, and two other of his generals, with each a hundred men-at-arms, to arrest the duke, or besiege him in Chantilly. At Pacauldière, on the road to Moulins, the former fell in with and searched the muleteers of the Bishop of Autun, suspecting that they might be the bearers of treasonable letters. A few hours afterwards, the bishop himself arrived: he was immediately seized, and sent to Lyons under guard. Bourbon, being soon apprised of his arrest, abandoned all

hope of recovering the favour of his sovereign, and thought A.D. 1523.
it high time to look to his personal safety. Some of his friends recommended him to stand the issue of a siege; but he judged it impossible to defend so central a position long, at a distance from all succour, and resolved at once to quit the kingdom.

Accordingly, attended only by the Seigneur de Pomperant, whose life he had formerly saved, without either page or valet, he set out in a disguised dress, and after many dangers and hair-breadth escapes, which are of no small interest, reached Besançon in safety, which was then a neutral city.¹

¹ They lodged, the first night, with the Seigneur de Lalières, an old adherent of his house; but changing afterwards their opinion of the safety of the way, struck off thence to the right, and slept at the house of Pomperant; the next day rode to Puy in Auvergne; and leaving Lyons to the left, reached St. Bouvet in the evening, intending to refresh themselves at an inn out of the village, where the duke hoped to be unknown to the old hostess. But the king's post arriving late at night, and staying there to feed his horse, they instantly departed, and rode on all night to the village of Vauquelles, which they reached half-famished with hunger and fatigue. Here the hostess recognised Pomperant, and advised him that some cavalry had passed during the day. On the score of old acquaintance, she lent them a fresh horse, and sent her son with them for a guide; and Bourbon passing as the valet of Pomperant, they arrived, by break of day, at Dauce, upon the Rhone. Here the duke, fearing recognition from the king's guard upon the river, concealed himself behind a house, whilst Pomperant went to reconnoitre. Near the bridge at Vienne he met a butcher, to whom he addressed himself as one of the king's archers, and asked if his companions had not reached Vienne, to watch if Bourbon should not pass the river. The butcher answered, No; but that he had heard that a large troop of horse were stationed in Dauphiny to intercept him. Pomperant returned with this intelligence; when it was agreed, that, although the bridge was unguarded, there might be some danger of their being recognised in passing it: they therefore went half a league lower down the river, where there was a ferry. Before the boat had been pushed off, they were joined by ten or a dozen foot-soldiers, some of whom, when half-way over, saluted Pomperant, as an old acquaintance. Bourbon was alarmed; but his faithful friend assured him, in a whisper, that if they found themselves in any danger, they had only to cut the towing-cord, turn the bark towards Vivarez, and take refuge in the mountains. But no farther notice being taken, when

A.D. 1523. In memory of this precipitate escape, he had a standard made of yellow taffety, embroidered with a number of flying stags and flaming swords, flourished over with the words *Espérance! Espérance!* whereby he wished to signify, that to save his life he had been obliged to use all the speed of the winged animal; whilst with a flaming sword he hoped to avenge his wrongs by fire and steel. "A terrible menace," says Bran-

they had passed the river, they rode on for a short time in the direction of Grenoble, until they had lost sight of their late companions; when they struck off through the woods towards St. Antoine de Viennois, and took up their quarters at Nanty, at the house of an old widow lady. Shè, during supper, recognised Pomperant, and asked him if he were one of those who had been playing the fool with M. de Bourbon. Pomperant answered, that he would willingly have given all that he was worth to be in such good company. The reply disarmed suspicion; but before the meal was finished, their apprehension was increased. News came that the provost was within half a league of the place, with a large escort, in earnest quest of the fugitive duke; which so alarmed him, that he would have sprung from table, had he not, unperceived by the rest of the company, been held down by his friend. Pomperant continued his conversation with the utmost coolness, till they had finished their repast; but the moment that was over, they took horse again with as much *nonchalance* as they could assume, and rode by cross-roads six leagues farther, till they gained the mountains, where, in a sequestered spot, remote from human dwelling, they rested an entire day to refresh their jaded steeds.

On Tuesday, the following day, early in the morning, they took the route for the bridge of Beauvoisin, and after repeated apprehensions of discovery, from the numerous parties of horse that were on their way to Italy, they succeeded, late on Wednesday, in reaching Chambery in safety, intending thence to travel post to Susa, and so, by Savona or Genoa, to the emperor in Spain. But learning that the Count de St. Pol had just passed on the same road, they changed their destination, recrossed the Rhone eight leagues above Lyons, and made for St. Claude, near the Lake of Geneva. Resting here a night, they sought out the Cardinal de la Balme, who, being in the emperor's service, lent them a good escort of cavalry to Poligny and Passeran, where they rested eight or ten days from their fatiguing flight, and then proceeded to Besançon.¹

¹ M. du Bellay, tom. xvii., p. 271-5.

tome,¹ and one which marks the stormy passions with which A.D. 1523. his mind was agitated.

In the meanwhile, the confederated powers, faithful to their plan, had set their troops in motion for the simultaneous invasion. By the appointed day, the English army was at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, ready to act with Count Buren, who advanced his forces from Flanders to St. Omer's. The emperor sent his army from the Pyrenees into Guienne, and eight thousand German lance-knights, levied by Bourbon's agent, under the conduct of Count Felix and William de Furstemburg, crossed the Rhine, took Coiffy on the borders of Franche-Comté, and passing the Meuse above Neufchatel, laid siege to the castle of Montclair; after the reduction of which, they expected to be joined by the Connétable in person, with the cavalry he should raise, and with those gentlemen of France who had promised to share the chances of his fortune.

But at this peculiar crisis, when the directing energies of his comprehensive genius were most wanted for the perfect success of his great project, Bourbon was a wandering fugitive; and the golden month of September was consumed in fruitless operations and uncertain action; whilst Francis, uncertain for awhile how to act or whom to trust, as advices of these movements continued to be brought, suspended his intended march to Italy, and fortified himself at Lyons, until farther light broke in upon him. As the secret project became more developed, he took his measures for the safety of the kingdom. He committed the defence of the Spanish frontier to Lautrec; sent Tremouille into Picardy, to keep Suffolk and Buren in check; and despatched the Duke of Guise to break the irruption of the Germans.

¹ Mem. Hist. tom. lxvi. p. 293.

A.D. 1523. The absence of Bourbon, at the particular time when it occurred, proved the salvation of his kingdom.

Bourbon did not reach Besançon from his perilous flight until the 24th of September. He immediately sent an envoy to the English court, to represent his condition, and to state his inclination, even now, to march on Lyons and Paris, if he were assisted by a fresh supply of money, and by artillery from England. Unwilling to violate the neutrality of Besançon, he then proceeded to Lierre-en-Ferrette, where he found the greater number of the gentlemen who had left their homes to embark in his uncertain service. It was here also that Sir John Russell again met the duke. He assisted at the council that was called upon Bourbon's arrival; and as the misfortune of premature discovery did not seem by any means irreparable, furnished him with money to raise all the cavalry he might be able, wherewith to join the lance-knights, and then hastened to apprise the Lady Margaret of the state of their affairs. On the 21st of October he was passing through Lorrain, with letters of free passage and despatches from the regent to the duke,¹ and heard of the progress that the English forces were making. The day preceding, these had crossed the Somme at Bray, after a smart action with Tremouille, had pressed on to the Oise—the French army retiring as they advanced—and were now laying waste the country, till they arrived within eleven leagues of Paris. Their approach spread consternation through the realm; and the Parisians sent various messengers to apprise Francis of their peril, and to entreat him to send them speedy succour. The credit of Francis, as we learn from Sir John's letters, was now at the lowest ebb: he had borrowed all the money that he could raise of the Swiss cantons, and did not dare to levy any more from his

¹ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 378.

people in their impoverished condition, lest he should quite A.D. 1525.
lose their affections.¹ Sir John states his opinion, that there was never a prince so ill-beloved amongst his subjects. In the present condition of the realm, he was certainly extremely unpopular; for when, in reply to the messages of the Parisians, he sent the Seigneur de Brion to reassure them, in full assembly, of his protection and care for their defence, Baillet, the vice-president of parliament, had the boldness to reply, that the seigneur was certainly welcome as a messenger from their sovereign; but that when Louis XI. on the appearance of the Duke of Burgundy before Beauvais, sent to comfort his good city, it was not by a single young gentleman of his court, but by his marshal, with four hundred lances: adding, with a solemn taunt, that although De Brion might be a gentleman of great merit, and an excellent favourite of the king, he was scarcely sufficient to give security and tranquillity to a city like the capital.² But Francis had not been so neglectful of their needs. The Duke de Vendôme was on his march to their relief; and the English army, hearing of his advance, retired at the moment when the capital appeared to be in their grasp, and without garrisoning the cities they had taken. The Duke of Suffolk, in his exculpatory despatches, enlarged much upon the severity of the weather, the failure of provisions, and the sickness of his army; but it was some time before Henry could pardon even his favourite Suffolk for this hasty abandonment of a prize which he seemed so near attaining.³

The disappointment of the English court, from the failure

¹ Letter from Besançon, Nov. 11. ² Du Bellay, Mem. Hist. t. xvii. p. 302.

³ "We sent," says Tindal, "our soldiers two summers against the French, unto whose chief captains the Cardinal had appointed how far they should go, and what they should do." — Practice of Prelates, 1530.

A.D. 1523. of this part of the expedition, was not alleviated by any favourable intelligence from the provinces where Bourbon, left to his unaided efforts, was essaying to repair the mischief of inevitable fortune. Although the time was wholly past for any perfect co-operation with the English and Flemish forces, some advantageous exploit might have been achieved with the lance-knights, if it had been possible to organise in time the body of cavalry which he was forming. He had already raised eight hundred horse, and was proceeding with his usual energy to complete the remainder, when the turbulent spirit of the German mercenaries broke up all his schemes, and finished the disastrous campaign.

These reckless adventurers, after taking Montclair and Joinville, had reached Bassigny, doing all the mischief which they could, short of setting fire to the hamlets, which Bourbon had prohibited. Six weeks yet remained of the period for which they were engaged, and the heart of France was open to them. For although the Duke of Guise had garrisoned the neighbouring towns, the garrisons were slender, and his remaining force consisted only of from five to six hundred men-at-arms. But they grew impatient for the cavalry with which Bourbon was to join them; and being less able, without them, to secure supplies, they refused to proceed farther; but gathering together all the booty they could meet with, resolved upon returning into Germany. Furstemberg affected to remonstrate with the soldiery, whilst he participated in their treachery. He was a captain of undoubted valour, but so notoriously light of faith and avaricious, as to merit rather the appellation of a freebooter. He had formerly served the French king with seven thousand of his Almaines, with so much satisfaction, that Francis placed him near his person, as a gentleman of his chamber. He was there, however,

suspected of subornation to destroy the king.¹ The detection A.D. 1523.
of his purpose induced him to enter into the service of the emperor, whose interests he was now equally willing to betray. He and his predatory band made for the Meuse at Neufchatel; but the Duke of Guise was not inclined to favour their escape. He sent forward half his men-at-arms, under the Seigneurs of Chatelet and Courville, with orders secretly

¹ Francis refused to credit the tale when Tremouille first apprised him of Furstemberg's design. In a short time there came a confirmation of the intelligence, and Tremouille asked permission to chastise the count from court. But this Francis refused, and used a measure of his own to ascertain the fact. One day, when he was going to hunt, he took the best sword he could select from his armoury, and commanded the count to keep near him during the sport. After having for some time chased the stag, the king turned aside, and when he saw himself alone with Furstemberg, in the deepest part of the forest, he said, drawing his sword, "What think you? is this sword a good one?" The count, after handling it, said that he had never seen a better. "You are right," said the king; "and it appears to me, that if any gentleman should have engaged to slay me, and knew the strength of my arm, and the bravery of my heart to accompany it with this good sword, he would think twice before he assailed me: yet I should always reckon him a great villain, if, being alone together, hand to hand, he would not dare to execute his enterprise." To which the count replied, with some astonishment, "Sire, the villany of the enterprise would be indeed great, but the folly of him who should desire to execute it would be scarcely less." The king received back the weapon with a smile, replaced it in the scabbard, and hearing the chase near him, set spurs to his horse, and rejoined the company. The next morning, the count went to Robertet, the treasurer, and told him, that as his pay was insufficient, he should be under the necessity of quitting the royal service, unless it were doubled. Francis sent back word, that if he were discontented with the terms upon which he entered his service, and which satisfied others of equally good birth, he was not disposed to offer any objection to his wishes. The count then said, he would say adieu, and go. He could not wait a decent time, but went and took leave of the queen-mother and Francis, as the latter was sitting down to table. Every body was astonished at his sudden departure, till the king explained it, by his relation of the previous incident.—*L'HEPTAMERON*, Journée II. Nouv. 17.

The count was afterwards taken by the French, in sounding the Marne for the emperor to pass, in the invasion of 1544, and sent to the Bastille as a spy, from which he was only liberated by a ransom of thirty thousand crowns.—*BRANTOME*, tom. lxvii.

A.D. 1523. to pass the stream before them, and charge them in front; whilst himself, with the remainder, should fall upon their rear, as they passed the river, encumbered with the cattle. Unfortunately for the full success of this scheme, the two lords quarrelled on their way: their companies were thus too late upon the spot; but the rest performed their part. Falling on the mercenaries in the rear, as they were hastening to cross the stream, the duke recovered half the booty, and inflicted a severe slaughter on the fugitives. The ladies of Lorraine and Guise saw the whole adventure from the windows of the castle, and found, says Du Bellay, amusement in the spectacle.¹

The tidings of this fatal step were transmitted to Henry by Sir John Russell, in letters which forcibly portray the displeasure and indignation of Bourbon.² On Sir John's arrival at Aynche, the duke called a council of his friends, and debated with them how far the enterprise could be continued by the levy of fresh infantry. It was the general opinion that the year was too far gone, to achieve any thing of moment; and Russell, lest the king's money should be fruitlessly spent, did all he could to confirm them in the sentiment. The cavalry were accordingly disbanded; and Sir John ceased not to deplore the event that rendered it necessary, assuring his court, with great probability of truth, that if the Germans had proved faithful to their engagements, the greater part of the realm of France would have drawn towards the duke. He afterwards detects the secret cause of their treachery. Unprepared by arms to avert the dangers that menaced him, Francis had recourse to policy. He sent amongst the captains a great sum of money; insomuch that three of them had each a flagon delivered to him, filled with

¹ Mem. Hist. t. xvi. p. 296.

² From Aynche, Nov. 1. Vitellius, B. v. f. 221.

crowns,—the messenger that brought them jocosely requiring A.D. 1523. them to taste freely of the French king's wine, and keep their promises to him, as he had done with them.¹ Nor was this the only instance of the monarch's craft : he had sent La Fayette, who had been one of Bourbon's friends, to pry into his projects, and devise means whereby he might be entrapped. La Fayette came to Bourbon, and offered, in sixteen days, to win both Montreuil and Boulogne, upon the possession of which the English court was at that moment blindly bent. As he was one of the ablest artillery officers in France, and had fortified those towns himself, his offers were accepted, and he was accredited to the court of Flanders. But having made his observations, he remained but a few days in Lorraine, and then returned to Francis at Lyons, who sent him, with one hundred horse, to seize on M. de Tausannes.² Tausannes was, next to Pomperant, the most confidential of Bourbon's friends. He had assisted him in the late negotiations, and had contested with Pomperant the right to the more dangerous part of concealing his escape from Chantilly. Whilst, therefore, the duke fled in his servile disguise, Tausannes, personating that nobleman, laid himself down in the duke's bed till some time before daybreak ; and then, dressing himself in Bourbon's clothes, summoned his followers to horse. When the day dawned, he halted ; and as the deception could no longer be preserved, he frankly told them of their master's flight, and of the necessity he had been under of keeping it so secret, surrounded as they were with spies. He then dismissed them with the hope that they would meet again under happier auspices, and rode alone by cross-roads to the castle of Puiguillon, where he remained concealed for a fortnight : then, cutting off his hair and beard, which he

¹ Russell to Henry VIII. Nov. 28. ² Russell to Wolsey, Mar. 11, 1524.

A.D. 1523. was accustomed to wear very long, he issued forth in a priest's disguise, and succeeded not only in baffling the search of La Fayette, but in gaining in safety the city of Besançon.¹ La Fayette, as the price of his exertions, received a quittance of the fifty thousand crowns, in which he had been in arrear, whilst governor of Boulogne; and Francis prepared to act upon the information received. He sent to Bourbon, Imbaut, Seigneur de Romagnieu, one of his gentlemen, with promises, under whatever bond the duke might choose to prescribe, to reinstate him in all his lands, and to offer no molestation for the past either to himself or to his friends. It is barely possible that the king was sincere in these overtures; for he well knew the talent and influence of the heart which he had alienated. But the next proposal which his emissary made was more suspicious. The monarch offered, with but six attendants, personally to satisfy him farther in a private interview, if he would appoint the place, and give assurance of safe conduct. To neither, however, would the angry Bourbon listen for a moment. He indignantly replied, that whatever course the emperor or the king might pursue, his own mind was fixed: he would neither trust to his professions, nor engage with him again in friendship. He would, he said, spare the present messenger, as he had once been in his service; but he vowed that he would hang the next that came on such an errand.² With this reply, he turned upon his heel and was departing, when the envoy said, that, as that was his determination, he was instructed to demand, in the king's name, the sword of France, which he bore in virtue of his office as connétable; and the collar of St. Michael, which Francis had conferred

¹ Sir J. Russell; Letter to Wolsey, Mar. 11, 1524. Gaillard, tom. ii. c. 6.

² Russell to Wolsey; Aynche, Nov. 1. Vitellius, B. v. fol. 215.

on him. "O," said the duke, just turning back his head, A.D. 1523.
"as to the sword, he took that from me at the passage of the Schelt, when he gave the vanguard to D'Alençon; and for his Order, I left it hanging at my bed's head at Chantilly!"¹

It now, however, became a consideration where he should betake himself. Henry, through Sir John Russell, had invited him to England; but he preferred rather to take shelter with the emperor. Having, therefore, advised with Sir John where he had best commit his money for the next campaign, with sixty or eighty horse he traversed Germany from Switzerland to Trent; and being left by the emperor to his option, either to proceed to Spain, or to continue in Italy with the army, he resolved to stay and see the issue of the war in the Milanese, and accordingly hastened to the camp of Lannoy at Binasque.

¹ Mem. Hist. t. lxvi. p. 289.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE FIRST GENERAL CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE,
TO THE DEPARTURE OF BOURBON FOR SPAIN.

A.D. 1523—1525-6.

Sir John Russell places his charge in security... Result of the campaign... Correspondence with Wolsey, Feb. 1524... Defeat of Bonnivet... The new Treaty with Bourbon, who invades Provence, July 1... Sir John's journey to Chambery; his interview with the good Duke of Savoy, July 31... Is presented to the Duchess at Turin, Aug. 9... Reaches the camp before Marseilles... His narrow escapes from the Duke of Albany's soldiery, Feb. 1525... Battle of Pavia, Feb. 23... His letters to the King, March 11... The more pacific policy of England... Treachery of the Viceroy of Naples... The French king is taken to Madrid... The indignation, and the voyage of Bourbon to Spain, August... Sir John's imminent peril at Bologna... He returns to England... His reception... Marriage, 1526.

A.D. 1523. SIR JOHN RUSSELL was, in the meanwhile, anxiously engaged in placing in security the money of his sovereign, which, in the unsettled state of the provinces around him, was no easy matter. He had no means, where he was, of negotiating an exchange, and its transmission through Lorrain and Germany was dangerous in the extreme. Besançon was the strongest town at hand, as well as the farthest from the frontiers; and as only a general league of offence and defence subsisted between the Swiss cantons and Franche Comté, as the Lady Margaret was governess of the city, and the bishop of the place and the Duke of Burgundy were favourable to the emperor, he resolved at length to place it there, in Lady Margaret's name, in the hands of a substantial mer-

chant, of whose integrity she was assured.¹ His own situation in Besançon was not without its danger; his long continuance in those parts having excited such remark, that spies came daily out of France, to pry into the nature of his business.² From these troublesome visitors he at length freed himself, causing a rumour to be circulated, that the charge committed to him was returned in certain wine-casks that had been sent to Flanders.³ To his frequent inquiries for farther instructions, Henry was in no haste to reply, although his peril grew more pressing, as Francis next addressed a letter to the city, expressive of his anger at the aid it was lending daily "to his secret enemies abiding there."⁴ No course, however, at present seemed open for him, but to remain there as covertly as possible until his orders came. In the interim, he collected and transmitted to his court all the information he could gather of the transactions of the French king in Switzerland, and the results of the operations in the Milanese.

Admiral Bonnivet, to whom Francis had entrusted the war in Italy, entered upon his command with a resolution to avoid the impetuosity of former captains; and his slowness had given the confederates time to assemble all their armies, and for Prospero Colonna to fortify himself in Milan. The array was formidable; but Bonnivet, being engaged in an intrigue for the possession of one of the city gates, was obstinately determined to remain before them. When the plot failed, he sought to conclude an armistice by consenting to abandon his conquests as far as the Tesino. But this the imperial generals would in nowise grant; and without ob-

¹ Sir J. Russell to Hen. VIII. Besançon, Nov. 11, 1523. ² Id. Nov. 28, 1523.

³ The Same to Wolsey. Besançon, Dec. 20, 1523. ⁴ Id. March 11, 1524.

A.D. 1524. taining any suspension of arms, he was compelled to retreat in the midst of a very thick snow. On the 27th of November he entrenched his army in winter quarters at Biagrassa and Rosata, between the Ticinello and Tesino. The Swiss forces in his pay, on their return into France, passed chiefly through Besançon, and Sir John Russell, in several of his despatches, gives a deplorable picture of the plight in which they reached that city.

The following letter may not inappropriately introduce the events of the new year :—

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

SIR,

Pleaseth your grace to understand that the news now occurrent in these parts is, that the French king hath changed of late his purpose, and removed from Blois to Paris the 16th day of February, and there to keep a general council ; for they of Paris be not contented that the affairs of the realm prospereth no better, in laying all the fault in him. And the said council kept, he intendeth to draw towards Lyons. This notwithstanding, he useth hunting, with other pastimes accustomed, as much as ever he did, and meddleth little or nothing with his council ; for all the business of the realm passeth only by the hands of *Madame la Régente* and the Great Master of France, they having as now all their whole trust and confidence in the Swiss.

The Swiss lieth all the fault in the French men, for that they assaulted not the town of Milan, which was facile to be won, and for that the Admiral of France is had in great indignation in France ; and it were not for the great favour that the king beareth towards him and *Madame Régente*, he should be, as I think, in great danger of his person at his return into France.

The French king hath sent a great personage (or) two towards M. de Bourbon, to persuade him to return into France, in offering him to make restitution of all his revenues unto the said duke appertaining, as well heritages as movables, and, besides that, to give unto him a county in recompense ; for they say, and they

might have him again, they think themselves the more able to resist A.D. 1524. against all others, for they fear him much in France.

Sir, a certain friend of mine by whom I have this news is a credible person, and spake with the French king the day that he departed from Blois, where he was hunting of the hart. And the same person reporteth, that he heard M. le Graunde Maistre say there, being at Blois, that Fontarabia was in great danger to be lost for default of victuals; for as at that time they were not victualled but for two months. And further, the same day that this man departed from the court, the French king despatched a messenger to the Duke of Vertembergue,¹ who dwelleth but ten leagues from Besançon: what his charge was, he could not understand; the said duke is in league with the Swiss.

As this day I received a letter from the ambassador of the Duke of Milan, which is with the Duke of Savoy, wherein is mentioned that the French men be withdrawn from all such towns and places as they kept, and be congregate at a place called Biagrassa; and there M. de Bourbon, accompanied with the emperor's army, hath so molested them, that they can have no victuals; so that they be constrained to expose themselves to flight; and hereupon they had assigned to give battle the 21st day of February. And the said ambassador writeth, that he doubteth not but that M. de Bourbon shall have the victory, with God's grace, who preserve your grace (in) good life and long. At Besançon, the 27th day of February.

Your humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.²

The emperor had now committed the chief direction of military operations to the Duke of Bourbon, not a little to Lannoy's chagrin. From the period when Bourbon reached Milan to take the command, a constant series of successes followed the imperial arms. Bonnivet, after being manœuvred out of his strong position, resolved to risk a general engage-

¹ Sic in MS. ² Vitellius, B. vi. fol. 9.

A.D. 1524. ment, and offered battle two successive days. But Bourbon was not disposed to hazard any of those advantages which he felt he could command without. He took in quick succession castle after castle, town after town; and when he had forced Vercelli to declare for him, and taken up his position between the stream on which it stood and Novarra, where the admiral was shut, he left that general no hope of avoiding either capitulation or retreat, but by the arrival of the Swiss succours which Francis had been levying. The Duc de Longueville was conducting by the pass of Mont Genève four hundred men-at-arms, who were now at Susa; ten thousand Swiss, passing the St. Bernard, were near to Sesia; and lastly, five thousand Grisons, levied and conducted by Renzo da Ceri, had entered the Bergamasque, and were now striving to form a junction with Frederic de Bozzolo, who awaited them at Lodi, with a large body of Italian infantry. But they were not suffered to reach their destination; for Giovanni de Medici, throwing himself into the Bergamasque, barred De Longueville's farther progress, and by perpetually harassing his troops, forced them, at the end of three days, to return to their own country; whilst the ten thousand who had passed their Alpine defiles, and had reached Gallacina in the Val de Sesia, complaining that Francis had not kept his promise in sending them the necessary band under De Longueville to protect them on the plains, thought how they might rather withdraw their compatriots from the camp of Bonnavet, than recommence a war which promised small success. Deprived, then, of these succours, the admiral attempted his retreat through the Val d'Aosta into France. He left Novarra in the night, and marched on Romagnana, nearly opposite to Gallacina. He endeavoured to prevail upon the Swiss there to pass the Sesia, and fall with him

upon the enemy; but finding his entreaties useless, and that his own Swiss pressed eagerly forward to join their new companions, he gave orders to continue the retreat, and began to cross the river the same night. A.D. 1524.

The decisive hour for action, which Sir John Russell anticipated in his letter, was now come. Though contrary to the advice of the other generals, who were for resting the army, Bourbon ordered a pursuit. At the first onset of the enemy, Bonnivet was dangerously wounded, and compelled to leave the field, after consigning the conduct of his army to the celebrated Bayard. No sooner had Bayard received the charge, than, pressed by the Spanish musqueteers, he made a gallant onset, to stay, or beat them back. In this devoted but forlorn achievement, he received the musket-shot which shortly closed in death the eyes of France's noblest and most intrepid chevalier. The spirited words which he addressed to Bourbon, when, leaning against the tree to which he had been borne, his eyes devoutly fixed upon his sword's hilt for a cross, and his lips addressing to God the parting "*miserere*," this general expressed his pity and concern for him, were in the highest degree suitable to his patriotic loyalty. But the reproach they were intended to convey, would fall light on Bourbon's spirit, with his wrongs in full remembrance, and victory before him. That victory was complete; and when he saw the shattered army of Bonnivet driven beyond the Alps, and the whole of Lombardy cleared from French dominion, it is impossible but that feelings of pride and exultation must have filled his heart. The ties of affection that had bound him to his king and country, were broken from the hour when he was maddened by injustice. Thenceforth his country was the camp, and his king whatever prince should enable him most effectively to shew by his sword the

A.D. 1524. value that ought to have been attached to its capacities for service.

Francis, from the reverses thus sustained, and from his dread of Bourbon, to whom he made fresh, but equally fruitless overtures of reconciliation, endeavoured now to form an alliance with the Pope. The English minister, from personal considerations, was also favourably disposed for peace; for, with the death of Adrian in September, his hopes of the papacy had revived; and when these were again disappointed, by the choice of Guilio de Medici, under the title of Clement VII., the emperor's insincerity awoke all his resentment, and a secret, but settled hatred took possession of his mind. This, therefore, without leading him to any open counteraction of Henry's favourite design on the French crown, had an unquestionable effect in traversing the project. To consult the wishes and interests of his master, and yet covertly pursue his own, when the two proved incompatible, was the part, indeed, which he had long acted; and to this cause, or to that modification of it which arose from his attempt to reconcile them both, must be ascribed all the vacillation, and much of the ill-success which attended Henry's measures during his direction of the royal mind.

But Francis was, for the present, unsuccessful in his attempt to attach Clement to his interest, and all idea of peace on the part of Henry, passed, as the flattering hope revived of still regaining the dominion of his ancestors in France. A new commission was signed in May for a treaty, whereby the Duke of Bourbon engaged to cross the Alps with all the emperor's forces from Italy, and recognise Henry, by his oath of fealty, as King of France: the King of England agreed to furnish him with 100,000 crowns a month from the 1st of July to the last day of December, unless Henry

should land, himself, in France with a good army; in which case the governess of the Netherlands was to supply the duke with four thousand foot, and the necessary artillery: whilst the emperor advanced an equal sum, and made, at the same time, an irruption into Guienne. By this treaty, the Duke of Bourbon was also to be restored to all his lands, with the addition of the kingdom of Arles, and a farther sum of money when the conquest was effected. A.D. 1524.

No time was lost by Bourbon, after the signature of the treaty, in taking the field. He began his march on the 16th of June, and boldly declared to Henry, that if he would only advance through Normandy immediately, he would give him leave to pluck out both his eyes if he were not lord of Paris before All-hallow tide; and, Paris taken, all the realm of France would strait be his.¹ The duke was accompanied by the Marquis of Pescara, the most experienced of Charles's generals; whilst Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples, stayed behind to protect Lombardy and forward reinforcements. On the 27th of June Bourbon was at Burgos, at the foot of the Alps, and on the 1st of July entered France over the Var, at St. Laurens in Provence.

The campaign being thus commenced, Sir John Russell received instructions to join the duke, with the money which he had with him at Besançon. The difficulties which he met with in his undertaking, and the dexterity with which he accomplished it, may be gathered from the following interesting letter, written from Chambery.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Pleaseth your grace to understand that at mine arrival in High Bourgogne, I conveyed in secret manner the charge by the

¹ Pace's Despatch. Vitellius, B. vi, p. 87.

A.D. 1524. king and your grace to me committed, unto Geneva, yet no man thought the contrary but the charge remained with me; and when I came to the frontiers of Bourgogne, to a town called St. Claude's, then was I surely advertised that it was very dangerous for me to pass by Geneva and through the country of Savoy; for at that time and yet doth pass divers many Swiss with Almains by Geneva, for to serve the French king. Whereupon, I in secret manner with diligence repaired unto Geneva, and entered into the same by night, leaving my company behind at St. Claude's, who made bruit that I was sick in my body; and at my coming to Geneva, there I found MM. Gringore and Godimer, which were in great fear and doubt of their life, by reason of the minatory and threatening words spoken by the captains of the Swiss and French men against them, for because it was known from whence they came; saying that they, and in especial another gentleman coming after, which had charge for the conveyance of money, should not so escape the country, and made themself so sure thereof, that they lotted every of the captains his portion of the said money, which was not possible to have come to their knowledge, but only by the advertisement of them that should have made the exchange. And when I perceived the premises, being in the said town of Geneva, and that the Frenchmen had no knowledge of my being there, nor also of the money, I caused the said Gringore and Godimer to depart in secret manner out of the town by night. And as the morrow after, I caused my said charge to be packed in bales trussed with baggage, as oats and old clothes, to make it bulky, and nicked with a merchant's mark, as merchants accustomedly doth use to convey merchandise into Italy upon mules, for other carriage is not possible to be had. It was so secretly handled, that I did trust it should have passed surely enough: yet, forasmuch as I had letters of recommendation from my Lady Margaret to the duke for my safe passage thorough his countries, I thought it much requisite for me to hear what he would say in that behalf; and thereupon I sent unto him my lady's letters, with a letter of mine, by a trusty messenger of the emperor's, who goeth with me daily.

The said duke, like a noble and gentle prince, perceiving the contents of my lady's letters, that I was sent from the king's highness and the emperor into Italy for their common affairs, did with all dili-

gence not only write unto me a loving letter for mine assurance, but also did send unto me his chamberlain, who is captain of his guard, with certain of his archers, which met with me in the confines of his country, to accompany me unto the duke his master's presence, he at that time being at Chambery. The said duke having knowledge by the said captain of his guard of my repair towards him, dislodged himself only to meet with me, and so I encountered with him between Chambery and Nice, who in right courteous and gentle manner received me, and declared himself to be much joyous to do the emperor and the king pleasure or service, and highly praised, lauded, and commended your grace, saying that he had of you a right especial friend; wherefore he affirmed himself to be ready to do unto your grace that pleasure or service that may lie in him to do within his countries. And after long communication had with the said duke, I, perceiving his assured, faithful, and constant mind towards the emperor, the king's highness, and your grace, declared unto him that I had the conveyance of certain charge, requiring of him his favour and aid for the sure conveying of the same through his countries. The said duke, that perceiving, willed me to imagine, study, and advise what was possible for him to do, and he would gladly follow the same. Whereupon I desired that his muleteers might hire mules as they be accustomed for the carriage of his stuff, and also to have the clothes and arms for the covering of the same; and so bruit it to be carried as his stuff unto the duchess his wife, who as now lieth beyond the mountains in Piedmont; whereunto he lovingly condescended, and sithen that, hath devised my said charge to be carried in his coffer, wherein accustomedly is carried the ornaments and stuff of his chapel, and upon them is written the contents of every coffer, to the intent that none otherwise may be thought but that it is his stuff unto his chapel belonging, and is at this time by him sent beyond the said mountains into Piedmont, to my said lady, his wife, where he briefly intendeth to repair; and for that the less suspicion should be had, he hath caused other mules to be charged with certain baggage of his own, to accompany the same.

Sir, if it pleaseth your grace to be memorator to the king's highness, that he and you would write unto the said duke letters of thanks, as well for the good that he doth to the king's highness

A.D. 1524. at this time, as for the good mind that he beareth towards your grace, by your so doing, it shall be occasion of continuance of favours towards all those that shall pass his countries hereafter, from the king's highness and your grace. Sir, I ensure your grace he is as wise a prince as is in Christendome, and doth observe and keep great (justice); he is also a man of great power, and entirely beloved amongst his subjects. The said duke, when he was assured of my coming towards him, called unto his presence Le Barrois, ambassador of France, resident in the said duke's court, and shewed him of my coming, and also charged and commanded him, at his peril, that no French man nor none of their adherents should in no wise inquiet, molest, vex, or trouble the said gentleman nor none of his; for if any displeasure or danger should happen to him within his country, or to any of his company, by any of the French party, that then the said ambassador should personally suffer, and be ordered like as they were.

Sir, this instant hour I received letters from the Bishop of Geneva, by a gentleman of his, supposing to have found me at Geneva; and I perceive by the purport of his letters that MM. Gringore and Godimer hath made relation to the said bishop, that they thought it in manner impossible for me to depart Geneva with the charge to me committed, without great danger. The said bishop perceiving the same, willed me by his said letters to make mine abode in Geneva, and that he personally would come with all diligence towards me, and convey me from thence in surety. The said bishop also adviseth me by his said letters, that M. de Bourbon is at Grace in Provence, and that the vaward is at a town called Draguigna, a day's journey from Marseilles. And thus Jesus preserve your grace, and send your grace good life and long. At Chambery, the last day of July.

Your humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.¹

The duke of whom Sir John speaks so highly was Charles the Third, brother-in-law to the emperor, by his wife the Lady Beatrice, daughter of the King of Portugal: he was,

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. vi. fol. 150.

at the same time, uncle to the French king, the Lady Regent A.D. 1524. Louise being his sister; and this double alliance had doubtless contributed to make him respected by both parties, and to preserve the independent neutrality which he assumed, during these desolating wars. . . . Meanwhile the Duke of Bourbon had secured Nice against surprise. His first design was to take the town and port of Toulon, and after securing Aix and a few other towns, to proceed to Lyons, and from thence to Berri through the Bourbonnois; imagining that the nobility and people of his own province, oppressed by the recent exactions, would welcome him with open arms. Had he been effectually aided in this scheme by the instant advance of the English and Spanish forces, he would probably have accomplished his vaunt, and have crowned Henry king at Rheims; but by the timid or treacherous scruples of Wolsey the English army was still detained, in despite of the urgent entreaties of Pace, who boldly declared in his despatches that if the Cardinal would not regard his representations, he would impute to Wolsey the loss of the French crown.¹ Charles, on the other hand, was equally dilatory; and the jealous Pescara, unwilling to compromise the safety of the army by leading it into the heart of the kingdom, insisted on the duke's laying siege to Marseilles. To this, however adverse to his own wishes, he was indeed compelled. A naval force had been promised from England, to co-operate with Hugo de Moncada, who, with sixteen galleys, sailed along the coast, to protect the army and land his artillery; but this also the Cardinal neglected to send, and the galleys were accordingly overpowered by the celebrated Andrea Doria, who commanded the French squadron, and thereby cut off his supplies. To add to Bourbon's difficulties, the money

¹ Pace to Wolsey. These stinging words proved Pace's ruin!

A.D. 1524. negotiated at Antwerp for his first payment from England did not reach him, and the emperor was equally backward in his stipulated advances: so that, as August passed on, he looked with anxious desire for Russell's arrival at the camp. In the following letter to his sovereign, Sir John gives an account of his farther progress:—

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Pleaseth your highness to understand, that the 6th day of this month I arrived at a town called Turin in Piedmont, with my charge in safety, notwithstanding there hath been divers enterprises and ambushes set for to attrapp me; and did meet with a gentleman by the way which was one of the chief enterprenors of the said enterprises. But at Chambery, I, pretending to evite such inconvenience, caused the said mules that came with me from Geneva, in manner as before I have written unto your highness, to remain with me during mine abode there, and the bales continued still trussed as though the money continued therein, to the intent that none otherwise might be thought but that the said money was still in my company, and bruted us to return towards Geneva, and to pass the Mount St. Bernard. That notwithstanding, incontinent after our departure from Chambery, being in the straight way of return towards Geneva, and out of sight of the said town, returned our horses, and took our way towards Mount Cenis, and there passed the mountains. But in the mean season, two or three days before my departure from the said Chamberi, according as M. le Duc de Savoy and I devised, I caused the said money to be conveyed upon other mules towards Turin in Piedmont, which ways was occasion, as I think, the said enterprises to fail of their purpose. And now I trust from henceforth to be accompanied with three or four hundred horse, being of the band of M. St. Surlin, bailiff d'Aumont in Bourgogne; who repaireth to the service of M. de Bourbon; wherefore I think myself now in surety.

Sir, the duke had, before mine arrival to Turin, sent in commandment to the principal of his counsel there, that they should

present me to the duchess here being, which his commandment A.D. 1524. they have followed.

And I ensure your highness that the said duchess is a fair, gracious, and a wise princess, and honourably accompanied with many counsellors with long robes, and also with many gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen; and as for the duke himself, he hath used him for the sure conveyance of my charge as largely as though it had been his own proper affairs. As for news, here is none, but that M. de Bourbon is in Provence, and hath won one or two little towns, with also the chief town of Provence, called Aix, where accustomably they hold their parliament. And truly if M. de Bourbon had all his men which he looketh for daily, he had been far in France by this time, as I think. But his arrier-guard is not as yet come to him, for they and five hundred men-of-arms besides be as yet in Piedmont, and that is one cause why M. de Bourbon maketh no better exploit than he doth. Another is, I do reckon, that all men hath not kept promise, for and concerning money. Also it is said here that there is and hath been a great death in those parts where the two armies hath passed, insomuch that in the town of Milan, and in the duchy there, hath *trepasséd* of late a hundred thousand persons.

Sir, this country of Piedmont is very dangerous; for the prince is not master thereof, because there is so many men of war in it, and that also they of the country doth use such partiality, that daily they kill and rob each other; wherefore the Duke of Savoy, their prince, who is a great justicier, repaireth hither, to see and set an order in that behalf. Sir, as this day the Count of Geneva arrived in this town; and thus Jesus preserve your highness, and send your highness good life and long. At Turin, the 9th day of August.

Your humble subject and servant,

J. RUSSELL.¹

It was not until the 26th of August that Sir John arrived at the camp before Marseilles. He there advanced to Bourbon the first hundred thousand crowns on the part of his court; but the imperial treasury was so diminished, that the em-

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. vi. fol. 166.

A.D. 1524. peror's part of the conditions yet remained unfulfilled. Meanwhile Francis, although detained at Lyons by sickness, finding that no attempt was made on his northern provinces, concentrated all his force and attention on Provence. He sent into Switzerland and Germany for levies, which he placed under the Marquis of Lorraine and White-Rose Pole, and superadding fourteen or fifteen hundred men-at-arms, sent them forward towards Marseilles; the Maréchal de Chabannes leading the vaward, which he threw into Avignon, lest that city also should be occupied. Francis soon followed in person, with his main army: yet, it appears he was not so fully occupied with the affairs of battle, as to neglect any of his chivalrous observances to love. At Avignon, he visited the grave of Laura, and threw some verses on her tomb. He next approached the little city of Manosque, and the keys were presented to him as he entered, by the daughter of Antoine de Voland, one of its principal citizens. Her singular beauty touched the heart of Francis, and the ardour of his eyes betrayed to the fair Provençale both the admiration and emotion with which she had inspired him. The modest maiden saw her danger, and became alarmed for the consequences: so that to cancel the impression she had made, she had recourse to an expedient which Du Bellay, who relates the incident, imagines few women would have had the courage to use. She stained her face with the smoke of sulphur, and her charming features became changed for ever. The king was sensibly affected when the heroic act was mentioned to him, and loaded with presents the unfortunate victim of his indiscretion.

The imperial army continued several weeks before Marseilles. Bourbon had been early assured that it might be taken with facility, and had said to Pescara jocosely, that

three shots of their cannon would so startle the good burghers, A.D. 1524. that they would instantly come with ropes around their necks, to lay the keys of the city at his feet. But the fortifications had been well strengthened and repaired, by Renzo da Ceri; and the sharp reception which he met with soon dispelled the duke's illusion. A cannon-ball having slain, in Pescara's tent, two gentlemen and a priest who was saying mass, the duke hearing the noise that ensued, hurried to the spot, to inquire what had caused it. "O, sir," said the marquis, tauntingly, "it is only the consuls of Marseilles who are bringing us the city-keys!"

At a council in which Sir John Russell assisted, on the 19th of September, Bourbon resolved to make a last effort to win the city, and if that failed, to raise the siege, march towards the French army, and compel it to a battle. Under this assurance Sir John on the following day left the camp, and parting from Toulon, set sail for Genoa, being instructed by his court to proceed without delay towards Trent, for the purpose of receiving money which Weston, Turcoplier of the Order of St. John's, in company with forty other persons, was conveying, under colour of a remittance from the Prior in England to the Grand Master, for their common affairs.

From Genoa he proceeded to Milan. He had been desired to meet the turcoplier on his way to Trent; but this being impracticable, he proceeded to Mantua, which that dignitary must needs pass. He was fortunate in having changed his route, as it was discovered that the Viceroy of Naples had sent his steward secretly to Trent, with the intention of seizing and of there detaining him, till he should lay down 10,000 ducats, for payment of the men-at-arms that had been sent into Provence.¹ On his arrival at

¹ Wolsey to Pace, Aug. 7.

A.D. 1524. Mantua he understood that the turcoplier, after waiting for him eight days, had departed to Viterbo, whither he accordingly followed him: he would not, however, receive the money from Weston till he had consulted the English ambassador at Rome. It was on his way thither that he first heard of the raising of the siege of Marseilles, and the dissolution of the army in Provence; a piece of intelligence which he so utterly discredited, as to follow the courier that brought it at the utmost speed, that he might shew the Pope and the Bishop of Bath the excellent disposition in which he had left the army. On his arrival at the Vatican, however, the pope, to his great surprise, assured him that the report was true, and shewed him the letters he had received.¹ At the recommendation of the pontiff, who declared

¹ Russell to Wolsey. Vitellius, B. vi. fol. 211. On the 24th of September, four days after Sir John had left the camp, Bourbon had brought all his battering guns to bear upon one part of the walls of Marseilles, and a breach was made, sufficient to admit twenty men abreast. He then prepared to storm it; but it being reported to Pescara that between the breach and outer rampart was a deep trench full of artillery, and guarded by a great number of musketeers, this general went to the duke's tent, and directing his speech to the other officers, said, "You see, gentlemen, that the people of Marseilles have a table perfectly ready and well covered to receive you, as is proper for those who go to visit them. If you wish to sup in Paradise, you had better make good haste; for myself, I have no desire to go just yet."² We had better, believe me, all return to Italy; we have left that country very destitute, and our retreat may be easily prevented." The opinion which he thus threw out, he determinedly maintained in council; urging, that if they were repulsed in the assault, if even they should take the city, it must be with the heaviest loss, and at the risk of being overpowered by the superior numbers that were fast advancing against them. Bourbon was still resolute to try the issues of a battle with the French king; but the soldiery refusing to march unless they should receive their pay from the emperor, he had no alternative but to retire. On the 27th of September, therefore, he shipped off at night his heavy artillery, broke up the rest, and packed it upon mules, to be new cast, and commenced a rapid retreat over the mountains into Italy.

² Du Bellay, *Mém. Historiques*, tom. xvii. p. 502.

that Viterbo was perhaps the most dangerous town in all Italy for the security of money, by reason of the feuds between the Colonna and Ursini, the latter of whom had the ascendancy, and were attached to the French interest, he took the sum which Weston brought into his own custody. The appropriation of the money had been left, in a great measure, to his discretion: it was to be employed as he should judge most requisite,—to the service of Bourbon, if the emperor observed the treaty; but in the event of any adverse stroke, to some direct advantage to the king's affairs.¹ Repeated applications and great interest were made to him at Rome for it by the emperor's ambassador, and Clement himself was willing to stand surety for the loan; but Sir John judged it advisable, without express orders from his court, to refuse every request of this nature; and as no apparent benefit was to be derived in the present posture of affairs by detaining it in Italy, he took measures for its return to England by exchange.² Amongst those who assisted him on this occasion was Frescobald, the Florentine merchant, who erewhile relieved Thomas Cromwell in distress, and had the generous act repaid in future years, when, by a singular revolution of fortune, he himself was cast from his prosperity, and the obscure individual whom he had served at Florence was raised to an elevation that enabled him to dispose of the revenues and to sway the destinies of England.

In the course of January Sir John made an excursion to Naples, to provide himself with a fresh horse, his former one having been taken in the flight from Provence. On his return he transmitted to his court his observations on the disposition of the people to the Duke of Albany, whom Francis had detached with a body of five thousand men

¹ Wolsey to Russell and Pace.

² MS. Vit. B. vi. fol. 219.

A.D. 1524. to attempt the conquest of the kingdom.¹ And having now fulfilled the various objects of his mission, he took his leave of the Bishop of Bath, and proceeded on his way to England. In order to avoid the Duke of Albany, whose army lay in his direct road, he took the route of Loretto. He had not, however, accomplished more than three days' journey, when, falling in with certain horse and foot, he learned that a hundred men-at-arms were on the road but a mile off; a circumstance which, naturally enough, awoke his apprehension. Availing himself, therefore, of a favourable opportunity, he struck across to Civitas Castellana, which he reached in safety; but in avoiding one danger, he had nearly met another, as the same night a considerable band of men-at-arms, of the Duke of Albany's detachment, arrived. He concealed himself till they had passed, and the next morning prepared to resume his journey; but before he left the town, a courier overtook him from the Bishop of Bath, directing his return, in consequence of letters just received from Wolsey. This was not effected without further difficulties; for, putting up his horse at a small town to take refreshment by the way, the news was brought him that six hundred horse were near at hand. He had no time to lose; but, foregoing his repast, he vaulted again upon his saddle, and escaped by one gate as the French were entering the other. Still, fast as he fled, fresh peril seemed to chase him. He rode till night-fall, and seven leagues further prepared to take up his lodging for the night. No sooner, however, had he made arrangements for the purpose, than another band of horse came up, whose notice he could not avoid. They demanded who he was, and he named himself a servant of the pope.² He was by this dexterous reply a fourth time

¹ Russell to Wolsey, Jan. 30. Vitell. B. vii. fol. 29.

² Id. Rome, Feb. 13.

extricated; but was fain, as he confesses, however weary, A.D. 1524. to seek out for other quarters.

When he reached Rome, the ambassador informed him it was the king's pleasure he should repair to Bourbon's camp, as soon as he should receive the letters sent by Sir Gregory Casalis. Sir Gregory was also seized in his journey by the French, and brought before the Duke of Albany; but he had taken the precaution to leave his letters a few posts behind; he was not, therefore, recognised by any correspondence; and naming himself a native of Sierra, he was, after a few days' detention, suffered to depart. Sir John waited, after his arrival, until the letters came to hand; and then, hearing that battle was offered by the Imperialists to Francis, he with all speed hastened to the camp, and arrived in time to be present at the celebrated battle and victory of Pavia.¹

In the fruitless but not uninteresting operations of the siege of Pavia, which Francis, following the inauspicious counsels of Bonnivet, had vowed to win, or to perish in the struggle, the entire winter had been consumed. The Duke of Bourbon, perceiving that no decisive stroke could be accomplished without additional military force, addressed himself for aid to the good Duke of Savoy, and borrowed from him the valuable jewels of his lady. With the money raised on these he crossed the Tyrol to Vienna, solicited the Archduke Ferdinand for a body of his Austrians, and with the assistance of Friendsberg, the Lutheran adventurer, levied a well-disciplined array of twelve thousand lance-knights. Two thousand other Germans and three hundred horse, raised at Ferdinand's expense, accompanied him back to Trent; and when his reinforcements reached the camp

¹ Dug. Bar. vol. ii. p. 378. "Ex script. Will. Com. Bedf."

A.D. 1524. of his two colleagues, he felt that he was yet able to arbitrate between the two contending powers. The vacillating Wolsey was secretly meditating peace; the pope also, siding now with Francis, sent an ambassador to treat with Bourbon for pacific measures; but he, resentful for the past and ambitious of the future, disdainfully replied, "Return to your Vatican! our appointment is determined; it shall be concluded only at the point of spears and swords."

Francis had pitched his camp within the park of Mirabello, which extended to the ramparts of Pavia. The park was surrounded by high and solid walls that reached also from the camp of the Imperialists to the city; a perfect line of posts was established within them, and every movement of the enemy was by the French force clearly perceptible. A passage to the city for the garrison's relief was only to be obtained by two manœuvres, either by passing the Ticino within reach of the French musketry, or by forcing the park and striking through the French encampment. Both seemed so impracticable, that Francis deemed himself impregnable in his position. Notwithstanding which, when Bourbon found that provisions failed his army, that he could not lure the king to an action without the trenches, and that the garrison, in want of every necessary, could hold out no longer, he planned in his desperation a masterly assault on the rear of the French camp, which De Leyva was to second from Pavia on a given signal, by a simultaneous movement on the vanguard of La Palisse; and the city was thus, at all hazards, to be relieved during the tumult of the battle.

On the night, therefore, of the 23d of February, he picked out from his own lance-knights two thousand daring soldiers, whom, with one thousand Spaniards, he commanded

to put white shirts over their armour, that so they might be known by their comrades through the gloom. Numerous feint attacks were made upon the wall at various points, amidst vociferous alarms and the din of drums and trumpets, under which an active troop of pioneers and sappers mined the wall, unnoticed and in safety. As the darkness of the night cleared off, the mines exploded; sixty fathoms of the wall were instantly blown up: the white-shirt soldiers rushed upon the ruins, drove the troops there from their station, and rapidly advanced to gain possession of the Palace Mirabello, where Francis had his usual quarters. The whole body of the Imperialists rushed after them in four divisions, commanded severally by the Marquis de Guasto, Pescara, Bourbon, and the Viceroy. They did not seek to charge the hostile army; but they were compelled to pass before it, hastily marshalled as it was by the King, to repel the sudden incursion. His movement, however, was too late to save the fortress, as the young De Guasto reached it, took it by assault, and then sent a detachment to the gate of Pavia, which it would certainly have entered but for the resistance of Brion. Amidst his Spanish ranks was the noble poet Garcilaso de la Vega, who distinguished himself now as much by his intrepidity in arms, as he had previously done by the melodious tenderness of his muse. Upon the other detachments that were hastening in their track, a frightful cannonade was opened by Genouillac, the chief engineer. The duke, alarmed at the havoc it was making, ordered the troops to divide into smaller bands, and to run to a mound beyond its reach. The French king took the movement for a flight, and made a vigorous but unhappy charge upon the traversing detachments, which, as it masked effectually the fire of his own tremendous .D. 1524.

A.D. 1524. guns, was deeply instrumental in hastening the catastrophe that but too soon succeeded.

The steady eye of Bourbon no sooner saw the king's mistake, than he ordered the two guns to be fired that were to bring out of the city the soldiers of De Leyva: he converted again into close columns his desultory troops, threw off his helmet that he might be known, and brandishing his spear, led them dauntlessly on, in front of the main battle which Francis was commanding; whilst Pescara, with all his wonted impetuosity, attacked the Swiss, and Freundsberg and De Guast the Germans. The Swiss consisted of eight thousand men, under Diespach, their colonel; the Germans were the black bands of De Medici and five thousand troops from Gueldres, led by the forlorn but valiant child of vain adventure, the celebrated White-Rose Pole. La Palisse, who marked with consternation the error committed by his sovereign, hastened to support him by his cavalry on one side, as the Duc d'Alençon did more slowly on the other; the forces of Chabannes were engaging with the sally from the city; and under these dispositions, hastily arranged, but supported upon all sides with the most heroic ardour, the front of battle closed.

The first shock of the gens-d'armes of France was terribly effective: they had never fought in Italy with more desperate fury, for never were there greater destinies at stake. The onset broke the first troop of the lance-knights, and caused the others to recoil. Pescara called upon the Viceroy for his cavalry, who at first replied that all was lost; but afterwards charged, says a narrator of the conflict, more fiercely than a raging lion. In this first *mêlée*, Castriot, Marquis of St. Angelo, the last descendant of the famous Scanderbeg, was slain by the king's own hand. The king,

conspicuous to all his chivalry by his tall person, flowing plume, and rich surcoat of cloth of silver worn over his armour, cheered on by his voice, and still more by his actions, the knights and soldiers who surrounded him. By his own heroic bearing and the prowess of his legions, the issue of the fight was still suspended ; but it was only for a season. A.D. 1525.

The furious charge of Lannoy and the Basque cross-bows of Pescara, who, issuing from and retiring at their pleasure to the ranks of the trained pikemen, selected with their quarrels the most distinguished of the foe, threw the gens-d'armes into confusion. La Tremouille received two of their bolts at the same time : the one passed through his head, and the other pierced his heart. Their disorder, and the well-timed incursions of De Guasto, threw the Swiss into a panic ; they fled precipitately from the field ; and Diespach, their general, unable to reclaim them, threw away his life upon the lance-knights in a fit of indignation and despair. The black bands and the White Rose fought wildly in their room, till this was sorely wounded, and those were cut to pieces, mown down in ranks, and lying on the plain like shocks of corn beneath the scythe or sickle. The defection of the Swiss and the slaughter of these heroes dispirited the Duc d'Alençon ; the battle was centering around the place where Francis fought ; La Palisse, who on his side had twice beaten back Castaldo, the second in command to Pescara, had his horse shot under him, and was captured : all depended on the conduct of d'Alençon. Instead, however, of yielding the prompt succour which the exigence demanded, by bringing up his horse to a second rescue, he suffered his mind to be overpowered by the peril of the crisis, and ignobly retreated from the field. The king's battle was still galled by the cross-bows of the Basques. His *grand écuyer*, St. Severin, whose duty it was to guard

A.D. 1525. his person, marked out by his crest and pennon, fell, covered over with unnumbered wounds. Guillaume du Bellay ran to his assistance; but the dying warrior said that he could do him no more service, and bade him rather guard the royal person. To the like loyal duty hastened, too, all such as marked with execration the flight of the Duc d'Alençon,—La Roche du Maine, the duke's lieutenant; Clement de Marot, France's poet, who was in the Duc d'Alençon's retinue; and the gallant De Fleuranges, who had vainly striven to change his purpose. These and others of the French king's gentlemen closed around his person, and renewed the struggle. The lance-knights were repulsed; the bowmen trampled down; Pescara was wounded and unhorsed; Lannoy, eager for his safety, was charged and beaten back; when the other imperial leaders hastened to the spot with their divisions, De Guasto, and Castaldo, and De Leyva from Pavia. Still the French gens-d'armes remained impassive, until Bourbon, some of whose companies Sir John Russell may have commanded, brought up his array. The next charge was decisive; the heroic phalanx was broken up; and the king, yet fighting furiously, in the very teeth of hope, sought at last to save himself by the bridge of the Ticino. But the bridge was broken down; thousands perished in the river, as they sought to cross it, or were pushed into the stream; and no alternative remained to the high-spirited monarch, but to sell his life as dearly as possible. Surrounded as he was by the concourse of the enemy, he slew six of the assailants who adventured to attack him. He got out of the press, but was followed by four Spanish musqueteers, who, attracted by his dress and collar, called upon him to surrender. The king could not endure the idea of yielding to the common soldiers: he returned no answer, but sought to

pass along. One of them struck his horse with the butt-end of his musket, and the king fell, insensible for awhile, beneath the dying animal. An officer then came by, who, marking the richness of his dress, promised them, if they would spare him, whoever he might prove to be, a share in the ransom. The next moment M. de Pomperant came up, the faithful friend of Bourbon: he recognised the king, and bade the soldiers follow up the victory, saying that the warrior was already dead. But they insisted upon stripping him,—the king revived; and Pomperant, kneeling at his feet, requested him to yield to Bourbon, which Francis indignantly refused. He then mentioned the Viceroy: the king intimated his consent. He rode to Lannoy, and acquainted him with the circumstance. Lannoy hastened to the spot, assisted him to rise, received upon his knees the sword which he solicited, and kissing his hand with respectful homage, presented him with another. The soldiers crowded round him the moment he became known, and with impatient hands proceeded to disarm him. The first was Diego d'Avila, who took from him his gauntlets; others dispossessed him of his coat-of-arms, and hewed and broke it into a hundred pieces, each ambitious to possess a relique of it; some took off his belt; others seized his spurs; the feathers, too, upon his crest were snatched away with greedy ardour, and borne off with pride, in token of the memorable day. The chief commanders then came in,—last of all Bourbon, armed as he was from head to heel, and with his naked sword all crimsoned in his hand. His name was demanded by the king, who, being told it, stepped behind Pescara, with a countenance somewhat disturbed. The marquis perceiving it, asked Bourbon for his sword: he yielded it very willingly, and lifting up his visor, knelt before the king, and humbly asked to kiss his hand. A.D. 1525.

A.D. 1525: The king refused; and Bourbon, moved to tears, is said to have exclaimed, "Alas, sir, if my counsel had been followed, neither should you have been in this estate, nor had so much blood of the French nobility been shed as stains the fields of Italy!" "I must have patience," said the king, casting up his eyes to heaven, "since fortune has deserted me!" Farther discourse was prevented by Pescara, who desired him to mount on horseback: he was conducted to a monastery near Pavia, where his wounds were carefully examined. After these had been attended to, he was served respectfully at his repast both by Lannoy and Bourbon, the latter standing a long time alone, reasoning with him in reply to his reproaches.

Never had there been a field so fatal to the realm of France, since the fight of Azincour, or since that earlier storied conflict,

"Where Charlemain with all his peerage fell,
At Fontarabia."

The flower of all his chivalry was slain,—La Tremouille, St. Severin, Lescun, and the White Rose; Chabannes and La Palisse; the Grand Master of France, and the unhappy Bonnivet, with many others whom the annalists enumerate. The fate of some of them was sufficiently remarkable; but we can only notice that of Bonnivet.

He, the unfortunate adviser of the siege, and director of two calamitous campaigns, sensible at last of the false steps he had advised, did his best to repair the evil, and twice by his valour turned the fortune of the fight. Being separated from the king by the charge of Bourbon's lance-knights, he might still have saved his life without disgrace; but shame and grief for the ruin which he saw no human effort could prevent, rendered longer life a burden to him: he

rushed amongst the thickest of the lance-knights, and ex- A.D. 1525.
piated with his death the weakness¹ and errors of his heart
and judgment. He was thought, from his influence with the
Queen Regent and his rivalry of Bourbon, to have had no
slight share in the persecutions of this prince ; and Bourbon,
smarting with the memory of the infliction, sought him
through the field with a fiery impatience, eager to punish the
affront. When he found him, he was stretched upon the
plain, a pallid corse. The sight was sufficient to allay his
passions : a tenderer feeling of involuntary pity touched his
heart as he contemplated the cold remains ; and turning
away his head, he exclaimed, with a deep sigh, “ Unhappy
man ! you have caused the ruin of France and of Bourbon ! ”

The royal captive of France was treated with the greatest
delicacy and respect. Pescara assigned him, at his request,
the castle of Pizzighitone for his residence, until the emperor’s
pleasure should be known respecting him. Before the monarch
was conducted thither, he visited the Certosa, with the desire
of offering his devotions in that proud and stately pile. On
entering the cathedral, his eye fell on an inscription from the
Psalmist, “ It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that
I might learn thy statutes.” The text was felt to be so appro-
priate to his own adverse condition, that it touched his heart
at once with resignation and devotion ; and if tears for the
loss of so many faithful followers mingled with his contrition,²

¹ Du Bellay mentions, that it was his desire to see again a favourite lady
of Milan, named Clarice, that induced him to counsel the king’s last enter-
prise upon the duchy.

² It is not our province to bring forward any of the faults or vices with
which the conscience of the king might charge him at such an hour ; but he
may possibly have been then suitably reminded of the recent loss of his
amiable and excellent Queen Claude. Her death is said to have been caused
by his indiscretions, and the letters of Sir John Russell confirm the truth
of the charge.

A.D. 1525. and with the aspirations of his heart for better days, the share which nature had with devout humiliation in exciting them could scarcely detract from either their purity or their acceptance.

The battle of Pavia was in all respects decisive. When the tidings of it reached Trivulzi at Milan, he abandoned the castle, retreated into France, and the French power was again extinct in Italy. A few days after the battle had been fought, Sir John Russell transmitted to his court some interesting particulars connected with it in the following letter :—

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Pleaseth your highness to understand that I received the letters from my Lord Cardinal, wherein was mentioned that your highness' pleasure was, that I should repair unto the Duke of Bourbon, to the intent that I should advertise your highness and his grace how all the affairs here doth succeed. I had been here with the said duke long since, but that the Duke of Albany, who pretended to go to Naples, lay in my way, and his company spersed thereabouts, so that I could not pass. Nevertheless, when I heard that the battle was given,¹ I in diligence by post did repair hither, thinking it necessary one should be near the said duke at this time. I find him firmly prefixed to follow his enterprise against the French king, and never better willing; saying, that if your highness will, he will set the crown of France on your head, and that shortly; and that there may more be done now with a hundred thousand crowns, for the obtaining of that, than before might have been done with five hundred thousand; because the king, with the most part of all the nobles and captains of France be taken and slain. Wherefore his desire is, that it will please your highness to furnish payment for twelve thousand footmen and five hundred men-of-arms for two months, which amounteth unto two hundred thousand

¹ This expression, if Dugdale's statement be correct, must imply *offered*, and not *stricken*, which was the term generally used in those days to denote a battle actually fought.

crowns; and he himself will furnish the said army of payment for A.D. 1525. one month at his being in France, with which company he will repair and pass to and through Dauphiny, because that by Savoy and Bourgogne he can nor may carry none artillery out of Italy. If your highness please that he march into France, he saith he will trust to your highness and to no man else; for if contributions be made to be paid by the Viceroy or others in those parts, he saith they will handle him as they did at his being in Provence; and rather than he would take and suffer such dishonour as he did there, he had liever be dead. Notwithstanding, he saith, he will serve and keep all such promises as he hath made to your highness and to the emperor, to the uttermost of his power. In case he would pass by Bourgogne, he wotteth not how to have artillery to follow and maintain his said enterprise, unless your highness might so deal with the Archduke that he would be contented to let him have artillery with munition in a town called Brisac, within the county Ferrat, where he hath good store. If he grant thereunto, men must be levied there for the conveyance of the same into Bourgogne. Wherefore Mons^r. de Bourbon saith, that good it were your highness should demand of the emperor to have certain pieces of the artillery here won of the Frenchmen, which is in good readiness already; and so to pass with the same through Dauphiny. If it please your highness this be done, he pretendeth to have those men with him which already hath beaten the Frenchmen, and reckoneth the same a great advantage, for they be greatly dread in France: he desireth to know where and to what part your highness would repair with your army, to the intent that if case require he may join with you; and thinketh that your own person shall do much in this affair. Further, Mons^r. de Bourbon sayeth, that in this case diligence should be used, considering the late overthrow that the Frenchmen hath had here in Italy, and that also they in France cannot so shortly be provided to resist again their enemies; for when the two armies be there, they shall have no leisure to make no provision, and also they be very evil provided of good captains.

The Imperials thought to have come and assailed the French king in his camp in the morning betimes, every of them having a white shirt upon his harness: whereof, ere it were midnight, the said French king was advertised, and so came out of his camp into the

A.D. 1525. plain field, and ordained his battle the same night ; so that where the Imperials thought to have set upon them being encamped, they found them in array and good order, marching towards them, having well forty pieces of artillery, which did much hurt. The French king layeth now fault in his Switzes, for that he hath lost the battle ; saying that they did not their part as they should have done. His lance-knights fought very well against their own nation on the emperor's side. Richard de la Pole was their captain, who was slain there,¹ and also few of them escaped. Besides this, of thirteen hundred men of arms which he had there, there escaped not past four hundred, but were taken and slain. It is said here that there were slain in the field twelve thousand men, besides divers that were drowned in the Tecino, fleeing, which be found daily and of great number. There was taken prisoners ten thousand men, and the most part of them were men of war, and the others rascal, to whom Mons^r. de Bourbon hath given passports, and hath bound the gentlemen and the captains by their oaths, that they shall make no war, nor bear harness in France against no man these twelve months, and the other men of war for five months, and the residue for three months. And as for the great personages that be taken, it is agreed between Mons^r. de Bourbon, the Viceroy, and the Marquis of Pescara, that none of them shall be as yet put to no ransom, nor until they know further of the emperor's pleasure and your highness's in that behalf. Of the emperor's part there was not lost past fifteen hundred men, or near thereabouts. They give Mons^r. de Bourbon a great praise, and saith that he did very manly the same day, and that he was one

¹ This is a mistake: he survived the conflict, though severely wounded, and fled from the disastrous field in the green coat of a servant, his helmet being thrown away. He fell in with a company of peasants on his flight, and desired one to shew him the road to Vigheva, presenting him at the same time with a chain of gold, and promising him two hundred ducats more when he should arrive there. The present promise tempted him to instant crime. As they approached a bog, his treacherous conductor bade him strike across it: the unsuspecting chevalier rode boldly on; his horse sank to his belly in the quagmire; and the villain, as it struggled in the marshy ground, barbarously clove his head with a hatchet which he carried.

of the causers that the said battle was won; for if he had not been there, there had been no battle given, but a truce taken, which should not have been neither honourable nor profitable to the emperor, to your highness, nor to him. A.D. 1525.

The said duke saith, that now is the time; and that shortly your highness may, if you accomplish the said duke's demand before rehearsed, obtain all your right and inheritance which the French king hath; and never so well as now. He saith that he declareth not this for the recovery of his own there, but considereth well that your highness may now have by peace some part of your right, and doubteth not but by the same peace he shall be restored unto his. This notwithstanding, he thinketh it best, seeing that it so may be, to take and enjoin as well all as some. And this offer that he maketh he saith it is only to do your highness service, and to help you to recover your right, in accomplishing all such promises as he hath made unto your highness beforetime.

This hath been as great a victory as hath been seen this many years; for of all the nobles of France be escaped no more but Mons^r. d'Alençon, and but a few Frenchmen escaped besides them that were within Milan. The Spaniards, after the battle won, pursued and chased the Frenchmen almost a hundred miles, killing and slaying them without mercy.

I would have written unto your highness ere this time, but I tarry S^r. Gregory's going, who doth obtain a safe conduct to pass through France in post with the Pope's ambassador, wherefore he shall the shortlier be there. Notwithstanding, for the more surety I do send a post unto your highness with the duplicate of these my said letters, who goeth by Almayne, for fear lest Sir Gregory's safe conduct shall not serve him. I do send your highness here enclosed the names of the great personages with other captains that be taken and slain, as far as is known yet. And thus God preserve your highness, and send your highness good life and long. Written at Milan, the 11th day of March.

Your humble subject and servant,

J. RUSSELL.¹

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. vii. fol. 77.

A.D. 1525.

The resentment of Francis against the Duke of Bourbon was unappeased, but he had the self-command and prudence greatly to control it. The duke also conducted himself towards the royal captive with equal moderation and respect. On the evening of the battle he had waited on the king at table, presenting to him the customary napkin, which some say Francis accepted—some, that he refused; but if Bourbon had received such an affront, he would scarcely have requested permission to visit him the following day. This interview, however, was both asked and granted; it took place in the chamber of the monarch. The duke was accompanied by Pomperant; he advanced to Francis with downcast eyes, and, with every ceremonial of respect that befitted a subject, fell at the knees of the king, whom he embraced. These seeming marks of a profound submission touched for a moment the heart of Francis; he raised the duke, and accosted him as he was wont to do in other days; but when he turned to address Pomperant, the kindness of his conversation attested a much more cordial feeling, and formed a happy escape from topics which neither personage could enter upon without embarrassment and pain. It is impossible to say how far a repetition of these mutual courtesies might not soon have dissipated, with both, the rankling sense of injury; for Bourbon, as well as Francis, had an innate generosity of heart that would easily have relented upon frank concession; and the influence of the monarch's present condescension was already shewn by the duke's releasing many of his prisoners, in order to obtain their ransom in France. But the jealous, the envious, and the selfish viceroy, dreading lest the duke should seize upon his captive, become reconciled, and by reconducting him into France repair the ills he had inflicted, gave him small opportunity for fresh intercourse.

Under the vigilant Alarcon and his Spanish guard, he se- A.D. 1525.
cluded him in the castle against all but occasional access,
and was instigated by his hatred, no less than his fears, to
sow between them suspicion and mistrust. By his insinua-
tions, the king's returning kindness was thus checked, and
he again entrenched himself within the limits of a proud and
cold reserve. Once, and once only, when the schemes of
St. Pol, and his other faithful followers, seemed to promise
him his freedom, he again relaxed from his disdainful bear-
ing; and, in the words of the Bishop of Bath, " smiled,
talked, and dallied familiarly with him." But this sunshine
of his face was momentary; his hopes of escape were baffled
by the cautious viceroy: with the monarch's haughtiness the
gloomy anger of the duke returned; and he henceforth
thought only of performing, with the more entire fidelity, his
engagements to England and Spain.

The conduct of the potentates of these two realms on the
news of the great victory that astounded Europe, was in
unison with their distinctive characters. Henry publicly
celebrated the event with the frank and hearty demonstra-
tions of a joy that for a while intoxicated alike the court,
the capital, and the nation. Charles, with a joy as real, dis-
sembled his satisfaction, discountenanced all public signs of
triumph, and acted the part of a pietist and moderator. He
affected to have deeply at heart the peace and weal of
Christendom, and lent a seeming ear to the negotiations
which the queen regent immediately set on foot for her son's
liberation, whilst he obliged every Italian state to purchase
his equivocal forbearance by exorbitant *benevolences*; and
deceived the mother's expectations by the proposal of condi-
tions, to some of which it was impossible the nation could con-
sent. Their tenour may be gathered from the following letter.

A.D. 1525.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Pleaseth it your highness to understand that Adrian de Croy arrived here on Easter day at night, and, coming through France, held converse with the French king's mother, and shewed her such instructions as he had of the emperor to the F. king, which he also declared unto me, and saith that your highness hath a copy sent by the emperor; viz. 1. That the emperor offereth the French king peace, by means of marriage between his niece, daughter of Dame Eleanor, late Queen of Portugal, and his son, Dolphin of France; 2. That the F. king shall render the duchy of Bourgogne to the emperor, with the other such possessions which the Duke Charles stood seised in at the hour of his decease; 3. That he shall also render to your H^{es} all such things as your H^{es} doth claim and pretend to have in France, with Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne; 4. That he shall also render to the Duke of Bourbon all such his possessions and inheritance, which he stood possessed in at his departure out of France, with also Provence, and he to hold the same in sovereignty, (but so as to) himself.

The aforesaid mother to the F. king said that he, the French king, would never condescend, nor agree to render the duchy of Bourgogne. And as to your Highness's demand, she said it was too great that your H^{es} demanded, and that she was sure they should agree bitter cheap: and as to the (restoration) of the Duke of Bourbon, she made little or no difficulty. M. de Bourbon, the Viceroy, and M. de Beaurain, hath been with the French king to offer him this treaty of peace, whereunto whom he answered, that he would not condescend to deliver any such thing, saying that he was a prisoner, and that he did was of no effect. But he said like what his mother and the council of France doth, he therewithal is contented. Also the said F. king willed the said M. de Beaurain to treat of peace between the emperor, M. de Bourbon, and him, and to leave your H^{es} apart, and then he would give them the hearing, and make a reasonable answer, whereunto they would not agree. Whereupon the said M. de Beaurain departeth hence tomorrow to the emperor, and goeth by Lyons, where the F. king's mother is, to know her mind in this behalf. M. de Morette came hither with him from the F. king's mother to the F. king, and re-

turneth with him again to her. It is thought here, that the sending A.D. 1525.
that the French king sendeth to his mother is for (delay) to him, so
that nothing may be done this summer; whereby they may have
leisure to make provision against the next year; and if they may
have that liberty, they shall be able to defend themselves very well.

The Viceroy and M. de Beaurain shewed me that it is impossible
for the emperor to entertain this army which M. de Bourbon should
conduct now into France, unless it would please your H^{es} to contri-
bute the half of the charge. Also it is thought that this army should
be more beneficial for the common enterprise than the emperor's or
yours, and that if any battle be given, it should be stricken against
them before any other. The Duke of Milan hath now his investiture
of the emperor, and shall give him 1200 thousand ducats: the
emperor demandeth of him to pay now in hand 200,000, and yearly
after 200,000, till the said sum be paid. The said duke is con-
tented to pay every year 100,000 ducats. What point they be at
I cannot ascertain your highness.

I doubt not but your H^{es} is advertised of the league that is made
between the pope, the emperor, and the Florentines: the same was
published here the 18th day of this month, which is, that they have
given the Venetians and the Duke of Ferrara liberty to come in
all this month, and that in the said league making, the Pope and
the Florentines give unto the emperor 125,000 ducats, and the said
league is made of fence and defence for Italy. By the same league,
in case the E. should be invaded in Italy by any man, the Pope is
bound, at his proper cost and charge, to aid and assist him with
2000 footmen and 500 horse, his wars during here. The Pope
would have given the emperor 200,000 ducats, so that he would
have delivered him Reggio and another little town, which the Duke
of Ferrara holdeth now. The said D. of Ferrara hath given 50,000
ducats, and offereth to pay to the emperor 200,000 more, so that
he will deliver him Modena, which the Pope holdeth now, and to
have his investiture withal. They demand of the Venetians 120,000
ducats to come in the same league, and have given them term to
the end of this instant month. And besides this much money,
they levy of other towns and lords here in Italy; so that they with
the same money shall be able to pay the emperor's army here all
their arrears, and shall spare near 50,000 crowns.

A.D. 1525.

The said M. de Beaurain saith, that the emperor's folks hath three or four fortresses in Languedoc, and fortifieth them daily as much as they can ; and that the emperor hath assembled his estates in Spain, and doth levy money in all places there, as much as he can possibly, that he is utterly determined presently to come into the realm of France, so that your H^{ty} will do in like manner. More, the said M. de Beaurain sheweth me that he has been with the King of Navarre, and practiseth with him as much as possible, to get him to be on the emperor's part and your highness's. He hopeth well to bring that to pass, insomuch that he, the King of Navarre, sendeth a gentleman of his with M. de Beaurain to the emperor at this time, to commune of the said affair.

He saith that if the emperor may have him on his part, it shall be a great furtherance for the recovery of Gascony and Guyenne, so that your H^{ty} will give him some little pro(mise), and to send some certain of men to his aid for the recovery of the same. Further, M. de Beaurain saith that at (his coming) in France, many gentlemen shewed him, that if M. de Bourbon did come thither with a strong power, there is many will declare themselves his ; and if not, they would not put themselves in no such danger. And hereof M. de Bourbon is advertised duly. Also, agreement is made that the Prince of Orange shall go into Spain, and render him again at this latter end of this next month at Bayonne, or any other place to him assigned prisoner. Also, they here have granted that the Count St. Pol shall go to France, and at the same time to render him in (June) prisoner. It is also said here, that the French men press daily in England for a peace, which is much doubted here ; but I have shewed M. de Beaurain and others here, that they need not to fear that the wars that your H^{ty} hath made, hath been for the emperor's sake, and not for your own : for if you would, the F. king would have been content to have given your H^{ty} a great sum of money, so that your highness would have kept you neuter ; and that, if you had so done, all the princes Christian should have been glad to have sued to your H^{ty} and should not have needed to have spent so much goods as you have done. I shewed them also, that the French men doth daily seek all the means they can, to put a (colour on things to which) they should give no credence. The French king sendeth M. Brion to the emperor, which goeth in

company with the said M. de Beaurain. As to-morrow, the viceroy A.D. 1525. departeth hence, to go where the French king is, at Pizzighitone, and taketh the said king with him, and so will bring him to Genoa, where be 16 galleys, ready to convey him to the town of Naples, and to keep him prisoner in the castle there. And thus Jesus preserve your highness in long life and continual prosperity. Written at Milan, the 25th day of April.

Your humble servant and subject,

J. RUSSELL.¹

When the various particulars (of which these requisitions form the abstract) were read to Francis, his indignation knew no bounds; in a fit of anger and despair he drew his sword, exclaiming, "it were better for a king to perish thus!" Yet, in the end, to mark his desire to form the strictest alliance with the emperor, he gave Don Moncada his liberty, and sent him into Spain with other offers. In these letters he expressed his willingness to marry the Queen Dowager of Portugal, who had been promised to Bourbon, and to settle Burgundy on the issue of their marriage; whilst his favourite sister, the Duchess d'Alençon, should console Bourbon for the loss, Bourbon be restored to all his possessions, and have his perfect pardon; that he would marry the Dauphin to Mary, the infanta; pay a large sum for his own ransom, and, with other minor conditions, furnish Charles with troops, when he went to Rome to celebrate his coronation, and either serve in person in his future wars, or pay a suitable indemnity for his absence. A desire to spite the Duke of Bourbon may possibly have had its influence in prescribing the first of these proposals; and Lannoy took a malignant pleasure in attempting to excite the duke's fears upon the subject.² The reply which the

¹ MS. Vitellius, B. vii. fol. 116.

² Id. fol. 149.

A.D. 1525. emperor gave to Francis was, that on no account whatever would he resign his claims on Burgundy, neither agree to the king's marriage with Eleanor, without Bourbon's consent. Thus assured, the satisfaction of the duke rose high, and his heart dilated as he contemplated his situation. He had already won the highest military glory; if Francis yielded to the emperor's terms he would divide the kingdom with him, almost as an acknowledged equal. If even the conditions were refused—if it should cease to be required that Arles and Provence should form an independent kingdom, he had it at his option to return honourably to France, be re-established on his own domains, and wedded to one of the most accomplished and interesting princesses of her age, who would thus become the pledge of a sincere reconciliation with her brother. His fate, at all events, seemed bound up with the king's; and, either by treaty or fresh warfare, he felt he had the power to aspire to much, whilst the monarch was kept in Italy under the eye of his devoted army. But it might be perceived, that if this guarantee should be borne away, either by fraud or force, he might lose all the fruits of his past exploits, be tossed again at large to run the same round of dangerous adventure, and become, perhaps for ever, merely an instrument of grandeur to the ambitious emperor, and a needy pensioner on his uncertain bounty.

It was, in fact, to this humiliating state that the Viceroy attempted to reduce him. He first struck away the foundations of his strength, by depriving him of his redoubted lance-knights. They, although enriched by the pillage at Pavia, demanded with menaces the pay that was their due. The contributions wrung from the Italian states were appropriated to this purpose; and they were dismissed, to be quartered at a distance in the pleasant territories of the

Church, or to return to Germany. Delivered from these A.D. 1525. strangers, whose daring rapacity had frequently awoke his fears, he began to meditate a bolder stroke; but before detailing this, it may be proper to glance at the relation in which the hopes of Bourbon stood towards the English court.

Bourbon seems ever to have fixed a steady eye on the honourable fulfilment of his various engagements. He assured Sir John that he would before this have gone to Spain, to conclude his promised marriage, but from his desire to stand quit of all the promises which he had made to the English king in past times.¹ The defenceless state of France, after the battle of Pavia, invited him to conquest there; he commissioned Sir John Russell to lay fully before his court his plans for the campaign, and urged him to enforce the king's instant co-operation, with all the earnestness of one who saw the importance of the crisis, and who felt, that thus assisted, he could hew out with the sword his own repayment, and thus anticipate the issues of protracted treaty. To these urgent solicitations to improve the tide of victory a favourable ear was at first lent. An army was put in preparation to cross the seas, for the recovery of those provinces which the ancestors of Henry had once possessed, and extraordinary commissions were issued throughout England, for the levying of money to meet the expense of this array. But the illegality of the means resorted to counteracted the popularity of the meditated enterprise: the formidable spirit of the nation compelled the minister to abandon his financial plan; time, as it passed on, revealed the dangers arising to Europe from the emperor's increasing

¹ Letter to Wolsey; Milan, May 11.

A.D. 1525. power; the private resentments of the cardinal came in to foment Henry's alarms; and instead of dwelling longer on the dreams of self-aggrandisement, all his efforts were soon bent to curb the predominance of Spain. Whilst, however, the English cabinet was deliberating with the Regent of France on the mutual advantages of a more pacific policy, the cardinal kept its designs a secret from Bourbon; as it was still possible that his assistance might be required: but to him, as well as to the English envoy, it appeared extremely singular that no answer should be returned to their proposals. The latter, who imagined Henry was still busy in his warlike preparations, and who could not conceive how he could let slip that fortunate season for accomplishing his favourite wish which could never be brought back, continued to report on every occurrence that touched the interests of the expected enterprise. Amongst other points of seeming consequence, he commented on the too great liberty which the French king was allowed, in receiving and despatching messengers from and to his mother; whereby he was not only advised of all that passed in France, but gave his advice on state affairs as effectively as if he were in Paris. The observation was sensible, appropriate, and perfectly consistent with his duty, who, ignorant of any change in the counsels of his sovereign, saw danger to his projects in the intercourse: yet, reflections have been cast upon him by a recent writer, as though, in this particular, Sir John had been deficient in humanity.¹ The quiet occupation of a mere spectator began, however, to be

¹ "The English envoy, too much alarmed to recollect how much humanity graces victory, declared that the French king had too much freedom of communication."—TURNER'S *Henry VIII.*

The puerility of many of Sharon Turner's observations, of which this is

irksome to him, and he wished, in the drama that he fancied A.D. 1525. was about to be displayed in France, a part more congenial with his love of enterprise. Of this disposition, the following letter contains some characteristic traits :

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Pleaseth your highness to understand, that since my last letters to your highness here is no news succeeded, but that the viceroy, as the 17th day of this month, departeth from Pizzighitone with the French king, to bring him towards Genoa, and from thence to Naples. The French king is marvellous sorry to go thither, saying, that he perceiveth well that the emperor will lose him, because the country there is hot, and upon the sea, which, they say, is contrary to his complexion. There be certain Swiss men of authority there that hath sent to M. de Bourbon, saying that, and the emperor and your highness will get the Swiss, there was never such a time as is now ; whereof M. de Bourbon shewed me, asking mine advice what was best to be done in that behalf ; whereunto I answered, that I thought little trust (was to be given) to any their promise. Nevertheless, it were well done of him secretly to send unto the said advertisants, and to shew them, that so they might deal, that the emperor and your highness would give them the hearing, and also to know what their minds and demands is concerning that matter. Whereupon, M. de Bourbon sendeth two gentlemen thither to sundry places, for and in that behalf.

If your highness's pleasure be that I should be here resident about the Duke of Bourbon, I would beseech your highness to write unto the said duke, that I might have a company of four or five hundred horsemen under me, and so I would trust to do your highness some service. I put no doubt, but that with the help of my friend and fellow, Mr. William Pevezon, who is your servant, and desireth much to do your highness service, I shall

rather a favourable specimen than otherwise, detracts greatly from a work valuable in many respects, and in none more so than from the authentic materials on which the author founds his statements, and the industry with which he has examined them. We will say nothing of his style ; but his history is truly a state-paper history.

A.D. 1525. levy the said number of four or five hundred horsemen shortly; and more, if need were. And since that, because the said M. Pevezon is your servant, and one that your highness may trust unto, I have spoken to M. de Bourbon, that he will give him charge of a thousand footmen, which he will bring; and the half of them shall be hand-guns and arquebusses. He is a man that hath good credit here, and may levy five or six thousand footmen as shortly, and as well as any gentleman in the country. Here is also a gentleman and servant of yours with me, called David de la Roche, who is very expert in the wars; whom, if it pleaseth your highness, I would he had one hundred horse under his charge. Wherefore, it may please your highness to write unto the Duke of Bourbon, that we may be accepted, and entertained to your honour. Methinketh I should be ashamed to be here in the wars, and do nothing.

The Count St. Pol escaped out of the castle of Pavia, where he was prisoner, the 15th day of this month; and, as it is said, he hath saved himself in the Venetians' counties. M. de Bourbon thinketh the time very long that he heareth not from your highness, and is very sorry that this fair time passeth under this manner, for he hath daily news out of France from his friends there, which desireth much his coming; and they of Bourbon have sent him word that they will live and die with him, and furnish his army of victuals for the whole year, if he come. If your highness's pleasure be that any contribution be made on your part here, methinketh, under your highness's correction, it were well done that you did make one of your own servants commissary; for in them lieth all, to see that the emperor and your highness be truly served; for if they will they may use great deceit, more than all the officers of the army after. And thus Jesus preserve your highness in long life and continual prosperity. Written at Milan the 16th day of May.

Your humble subject and servant,

J. RUSSELL.

We may now revert to the Viceroy of Naples. In the means which he took to secure the assent of Pescara and Bourbon

for the removal of the king from Pizzighitone, he shewed great dexterity. He declared, in a council to which they were invited, that he could no longer be responsible for the king's person, as he discovered daily fresh plots for his liberation. The Count de St. Pol, M. de Vaudemont, and the Marquis de Saluces, were, he said, in constant communication with Francisco de Pontremo, a bold and potent Milanese count, and that they had every thing to fear from some surrounding states, which were known to be the secret and insidious enemies of Spain. He added, that he knew no better means for his captive's security, than to transfer him to some castle in the Neapolitan territory, far from the intrigues and efforts of France and her partisans. A.D. 1525.

The two imperial generals, who had so deep a stake in his safe custody, were the first to applaud the prudence and the views of Lannoy. It was of little consequence to them whether Francis was a prisoner in Milan or Naples, so that they could keep him under their *surveillance*, and be still a party to his future lot: they spontaneously charged themselves with the care of escorting him to Genoa, which they did not leave till they had seen him embark, and the vessels on the verge of the horizon. Lannoy, however, set sail with other views. His real purpose, in making the proposal, was to render Charles the undisputed arbiter of the fortunes of the king, — to place him so entirely in his power, that he might dictate his own terms of peace; whilst to Francis he had represented, how much more easily those terms might be agreed on by a personal appeal to the emperor's generosity. When, therefore, he had made two days' sail for Naples, he gave orders to the helmsman to change his course due west, and landed with his noble charge at Barcelona. By easy stages they proceeded to Madrid, where Francis was

A.D. 1525. lodged in the castle, under guard of the same Alarcon, but treated with the respect due to his high rank, and allowed at his pleasure his favourite exercise of hunting.

Tidings of the transport of Francis into Spain fell like a bolt of thunder on the ears of Pescara and Bourbon. The indignation of the former exploded in a letter to the emperor, full of the bitterest invectives against Lannoy, whom he taxed with perfidy and cowardice, and whom in mortal defiance he challenged for the insult. The resentment of Bourbon was no less lively. He saw in a moment his hopes destroyed, and his fate made to depend upon the emperor's pleasure. It required all his discretion to restrain the anguish of his wrath, when he reflected that it was the very man whose expulsion from the Milanese he had prevented, and whose courage and military talents he had reason to despise, that had spread for him the snare, by which the fruit of his victories and sacrifices was ravished from his grasp. But the emperor had invited him to Spain to pass the time until Henry and he were ready to enter France, promising to fulfil on his arrival the engagements he had made; and he had already apprised the emperor that he would be ready for the voyage whenever he should receive an answer to his letter from the English king.¹ His interests for the present imposed silence on his anger; but the hope of covering Lannoy with infamy before the Spanish court, increased his impatience to be gone, more especially when he understood that the viceroy claimed all the credit of the victory at Pavia, and asserted that it was himself who had captured the king's person.² The Duke of Milan, the Pope, the Venetian ambassador, and other dignitaries, from various motives con-

¹ Russell to Wolsey; Milan, May 26.

² Id. June 17.

ned with the peace of Italy, also urged him to the voyage; A.D. 1525. but his sense of honour induced him to refer himself entirely to the judgment of Sir John Russell, who, by every argument he could use, urged him to protract his stay in Italy,¹ and rely with confidence on the arrangements of his court. The counsel was followed with implicit trust; but M. de Pompe-rant, whose deserts, no less than Bourbon's, were impeached by Lannoy's vaunt, set sail without delay for the express purpose of disabusing Charles's ear, of challenging the viceroy for his falsehood, and of traversing his intrigues for the disposal to Francis of the Lady Eleanor.

Letters were at length, upon the 3d of June, received by Russell, through the hands of Sir Gregory Casalis, which, without returning a decisive answer, were of a nature to amuse the duke with expectations of military aid that were never intended to be realised. Wolsey, conscious of his own insincerity, shewed himself suspicious of Bourbon's, and required Russell clearly to ascertain his real dispositions to the king. Sir John assured him that the duke was as faithfully devoted as ever to his service; that, apart from his expected marriage, he was even more inclined to Henry than to Charles; and again set before his court in lively colours the fatal effects of a temporising system.² But cordiality between the two confederate courts was fast declining,—Wolsey's bitter personal reflections upon Charles were reported, and treasured up against him,—the emperor's contract of marriage with the Princess Mary of England was sought to be annulled in favour of a Portuguese princess,—and rumours now transpired that Francis, impracticable on the cession of Burgundy, was in reality to be courted to it by marriage with the Lady

¹ Russell to Wolsey; Milan, July 7.

² Id. Vitellius, B. 7. f. 149.

A.D. 1525. Eleanora. To a measure so unjust, Bourbon refused all credit; and indeed the emperor assured Pomperant, "that neither the viceroy, nor any one beside, should be so hardy as to move him to any thing contrary to his honour or promise." The assertion was made, we must suppose, upon his "*foi de roi*,"¹ as a few months sufficed to shew the perfidy of such a declaration: but the Spanish court, in its foresight of hostilities with England, was alive to the importance of wholly detaching Bourbon from her diplomatic influence; and the galleys that had brought the French king into Spain were accordingly despatched for him, with twenty-three thousand ducats for the expenses of his preparation:² the viceroy declaring to the messenger who bore the present, that he would give one of his fingers that Bourbon were with the emperor! The Regent of France, also, when she knew that he was bent to go, had the meanness to beg, by the Duke of Lorraine, of the man she had so deeply wronged, that he would forward the peace between her son and Charles, stating, that whatever appointment he might wish in France should be at his command; and that, as it was certain he should never have the emperor's sister, he had better look to France, where many advantageous marriages, both of widows and maidens, might be found. Bourbon spurned her offer with the highest indignation; and returned Lorraine for answer, that, whatever treaty might be made between the rival potentates, he would never ally with, love, or trust the French king more; that neither whilst he,

¹ Francis the First, who thought that the character of a gentleman comprehended in it every excellent quality that a sovereign could possess, was accustomed to use the asseveration, "*Foi de gentilhomme!*" He had once asserted to one of his courtiers, "*Foi de roi!*" which the latter did not appear to believe. Francis, perceiving this, said, "*Foi de gentilhomme!*" and the courtier was quite satisfied.

² Russell to Wolsey; Novarra, July 13.

or his successors lived, if in his time there should be a hundred of them, would he ever come beneath his sway again; but eternally continue to be an enemy to all:¹ a reply that in its fierceness reminds us of the Turkish Soldan's—

Non cedo io, nò ! fia con memoria eterna
Delle mie offese, eterno anco il mio sdegno ;
Risorgerò nemico ognor piu crudo,
Cenere anco sepolto, e spinto ignudo !

Ger. Lib. c. ix.

The galleys arrived ; and the duke proceeded to Genoa, accompanied by all the gentlemen who had been exiled from their country—a numerous and dignified attendance. Sir John Russell also waited on him to the sea-side, and with mingled feelings of interest and curiosity received his parting salutations, and bade him a cordial farewell. As his eye followed the vessels on their way towards Spain, he must have felt a secret desire to remove the veil that hung upon the future, and to know what were the destinies reserved for that extraordinary man. Would Charles, so little faithful to half the world beside, keep faith with the brave adventurer who had been the chief means of placing in his hands the spoil of conquest, and the pledge of advantageous treaty? Would the smiles of a foreign court, or the dowry of a princess, satisfy the restless exile? and if deceived or disappointed, how and where would his indignation find a fresh escape for its resentment? These were questions which he could not cease to ponder. The darker shades of disposition in the duke, which to a well-regulated mind would seem unlovely and repulsive, were so blended with the lights of sincerity, generosity, and heroism, that it was impossible to regard his future fortunes with indifference. Sir John may

¹ Russell to Wolsey; Milan, July 7.

A.D. 1525. possibly have blamed in his heart the changeful measures of his own court, which thus consigned an agent so skilfully creative in his military schemes, and so dauntless in their execution, to the possession and direction of another which knew his value, and which events seemed moulding into direct hostility of action. But the sails disappeared—his commission was concluded; and there was no longer a cause for his farther stay in Italy. He had written to the cardinal, to say that on Bourbon's departure he should immediately return to England;¹ and he now set forward on his journey, without anticipating any obstacle or difficulty.

But his active interference for so long a period with the Duke of Bourbon had marked him out as an object of aversion to the French interest in Italy; and although the politics of England were subsiding into peace, the passions in men's minds were not yet quieted. Circumstances which, at this distance of time, cannot be explained, caused him to diverge from the direct route, and to pass through Bologna, one of the cities of the Pope, whom former interest and present prepossession strongly inclined to side with the French king. There a plot was formed by the municipalities to seize upon his person, and send him a prisoner to Paris,—a measure which might be thought likely both to gratify the Regent's spleen, and to mediate to the liberation of her son. Some authorities have stated, that they were bribed by the gold of Francis; and Sir John's subsequent challenge of the king at Paris² gives some colour to the supposition. It is certain, from Russell's own letters, that both Francis and the viceroy shewed signs of great vexation and alarm, when Bourbon's messenger informed them that the duke was sent for into Spain, and

¹ Russell to Wolsey; Milan, (August) 1st. ² This fact is stated by Lloyd.

the counsel of such a piece of treachery would be congenial A.D. 1525. to the viceroy's disposition for revenge. This plot is stated by Fox, the martyrologist, to have been discovered by Thomas Cromwell, who had been several years in Italy, at first employed by a religious society at Boston, to solicit the renewal of some papal indulgences, and engaged more recently as a subordinate officer in the Duke of Bourbon's army. Cromwell concerted the means of gaining access to Sir John, and of effecting his escape from his apartment in an hotel of the city which the soldiers of the gonfalonier had beset. He passed himself off to the authorities as a Neapolitan acquaintance of the knight, and promised them, if they would leave the business to him, to induce their intended victim to yield himself to their discretion. The skilful mode in which he managed the affair, is transmitted to us in a tragedy entitled "The Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell,"¹ supposed to have been written by Thomas Heywood, who flourished in the reign of Elizabeth, and who has interwoven in the drama, with somewhat that must be pronounced apocryphal, much that bears the stamp of authenticity and truth, as though it had been derived from popular tradition. He presents us with the following scene:—

Bononia. A Room in an Hotel, divided by a curtain. Enter
SIR JOHN RUSSELL² *and the Host.*

Russell. Am I betrayed? was Russell born to die
By such base slaves, in such a place as this?
Have I escaped so many times in France,
So many battles have I overpassed,
And made the French scour when they heard my name,

¹ It is reprinted in the supplemental volume of Malone's Shakspeare.

² Heywood terms him by his after-title of the Earl of Bedford; which is here changed to avoid the anachronism.

A.D. 1525.

And am I now betrayed unto my death ?

Some of their hearts' blood first shall pay for it !

Host. They do desire, my lord, to speak with you.

Russell. The traitors do desire to have my blood ;

But by my birth, my honour, and my name

By all my hopes, my life shall cost them dear !

Open the door ! I'll venture out upon them ;

And if I must die, then I'll die with honour.

Host. Alas, my lord ! that is a desperate course ;—

They have begirt you round about the house :

Their meaning is, to take you prisoner,

And so to send your body unto France.

Russell. First shall the ocean be as dry as sand,

Before alive they send me unto France.

I'll have my body first bored like a sieve,

And die as Hector 'gainst the Myrmidons,

Ere France shall boast Russell's their prisoner !

Perfidious France ! that 'gainst the law of arms

Hast thus betrayed thine enemy to death :

But, be assured, my blood shall be revenged

Upon the best lives that remain in France :—

Enter a Servant.

Stand back, or else thou runn'st upon thy death !

Serv. Pardon, my lord ; I come to tell your honour

That they have hired a Neapolitan,

Who by his oratory hath promised them,

Without the shedding of one drop of blood,

Into their hands safe to deliver you ;

And therefore craves none but himself may enter,

And a poor swain that does attend upon him.

Russell. A Neapolitan ! Bid him come in. [*Exit Servitor.*

Were he as cunning in his eloquence

As Cicero the famous man of Rome,

Sweet-tongued Ulysses that made Ajax mad

Were he—alive he wins me not, and 'tis

No conquest dead.

CROMWELL enters with his Servant, dismisses the Host, reveals A.D. 1525. himself to SIR JOHN as the son of his Farrier at Putney, and says that he is come to succour him.

Russell. And what avails it me that thou art here ?

Cromwell. It may avail, if you'll be ruled by me.

My lord, you know the men of Mantua
And these Bononians are at deadly strife,
And they, my lord, both love and honour you.
Could you but get out at the Mantua port,
Then were you safe, despite of all their force.

Russell. Tut, man, thou talk'st of things impossible.

Dost thou not see that we are round beset ?

How then is't possible we should escape ?

Cromwell. By force we cannot, but by policy.

Put on the apparel here that Hodge doth wear,
And give him yours : the States, they know you not,
(For, as I think, they never saw your face,)
And at a watchword must I call them in,
And will desire that we two safe may pass
To Mantua, where I'll say our business lies ;—
How does your honour like of this device ?

[*They change garments.*]

Russell. How dost thou like us, Cromwell ? Is it well ?

Cromwell. O, excellent ! Hodge, how dost thou feel thyself ?

Hodge. How do I feel myself ? Why, as a nobleman should do. O, how I feel honour come creeping on ! My nobility is wonderful melancholy : is it not most gentleman-like to be melancholy ?

Russell. Ay, Hodge. Now go, sit down in my study, and take state upon thee.

Hodge. I warrant you, my lord ; let me alone to take state upon me.

Cromwell. Now, all is done. Enter, an if you please !

Enter the GOVERNOR and other States and Citizens of Bononia, and Officers.

Governor. What, have you won him ? Will he yield himself ?

A.D. 1525. *Cromwell.* I have, an't please you ; and the quiet knight
Doth yield himself to be disposed by you.

Governor. Give him the money that we promised him.
So ! let him go whither it please himself.

Cromwell. My business, sir, lies unto Mantua ;
Please you to give me a safe conduct thither.

Governor. Go, and conduct him to the Mantua port,
And see him safe delivered presently.

[*Exeunt CROMWELL, RUSSELL, and an Officer.*]

Gaining Mantua in safety, Sir John prevailed upon the state to send a herald to demand the servant upon heavy penalties ; and grateful to Cromwell for his unlooked-for preservation, entreated his company to the English court, promising to recommend him to the king. Cromwell was too desirous to improve himself farther by foreign travel to accept the invitation ; but a few months afterwards, on his return to England, the knight commended him to Wolsey, whom he served first as a steward, then as a solicitor, and lastly in that defence before the Commons which laid the basis of his future exaltation.

Without farther interruption, Sir John arrived in England, and after two years' absence reached the court at Greenwich. He was received by his sovereign with every mark of cordiality and favour, and the praise which Henry bestowed upon his industry and prudence were more copiously repeated by the minister upon those nicer points of diplomatic skill, upon the direction and management of which, as a master-architect of the fabric, he always piqued himself. Services like those which Sir John Russell had rendered, had been often compensated by some substantial good ; but from the time he first came into favour, it was Wolsey's anxious study to monopolise to himself alone all such demonstrations of regard. So that it was not until the cardinal's disgrace—

a disgrace accelerated by this very jealousy, as it operated on two of the most potent nobles — that a stage was cleared for the dispensation of rewards and honours to others who might challenge and deserve them.

But if in this particular the cardinal did not, in the language of the time, “stand good friend to him,” it is probable that he, as well as Henry, rendered him their influence in an object nearer to his heart. He had not been many months returned from Italy, when his affections were engaged by a lady of great merit and pretensions, who, herself an heiress and the descendant of a line that had enriched their shields with many a scutcheon of pretence, was as much an object of consideration on the score of birth and fortune as of personal endowments. Sir Richard Sapcote,¹ her ancestor by three removes, was of knightly rank in Huntingdonshire, in the reign of the fourth Edward, by whom he was appointed sheriff of the county, and preferred to other offices of trust. Her grandfather, Sir William, had the good fortune to captivate the heart of the last heiress of the Semarks, who, deducing their lineage from Sir Geoffrey, surnamed of St. Medard in Normandy, transmitted to her Thornhaugh, Eaton-Socon, and various other manors in the counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Northampton, which in the time of the Conqueror that redoubted warrior held, by tenure of military service to the abbots of Peterborough. Sir William, whose family would seem to have been, in their time, partisans of the White Rose, favouring some one of those factions which troubled the late reign, had these estates confiscated; but on the petition of his son, Sir Guido, the attainder

¹ Quarterly: 1. *Sable*, 3 dovescotes *argent*, a mullet for difference, for SAPCOTE; 2. *Gules*, 4 fusils in fesse *ermine*, for DYNHAM; 3. *Gules*, 3 pair of bridge-arches on columns *argent*, for ARCHES; 4. *Argent*, on a cross *gules* 5 mullets *or*, for SEMARK.

A.D. 1526. and sequestration were taken off by act of parliament; and thus Anne, his only daughter, had very early in life been an object of attraction to the knights around her. She accepted for her first husband Sir John Broughton,¹ of Toddington, in Bedfordshire, but a few years deprived her of his protection; and in 1518 she was introduced at court as the wife of Sir Richard Jerningham.² She was one of those appointed to attend upon the queen, on the occasion of the splendid interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold; whilst Sir Richard, as we have seen, was one of the governors of Tournay, and afterwards employed in an embassy to Spain. But in 1524 she again became a widow, and being still in the undiminished bloom of youth, had other suitors shortly at her feet. To the entreaty of these she might have proved regardless; but Sir John's perseverance and the sovereign's wishes, in days when the sovereign still claimed a feudal voice in the disposal of his female wards, induced her finally to acknowledge his deserts; and early in the spring of 1526, their nuptials were celebrated with the festivities usual in that gay and masquing court; and but little doubt may be supposed to exist,

“ That Wolsey's voice the blessing spoke,
More, Sands, and Denny passed the joke;
That bluff King Hal the curtain drew,
And Catharine's hand the stocking threw.”

MARMION.

¹ *Argent*, a chevron between 3 mullets *gules*.
Argent, 3 buckles lozengy *gules*.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE MARRIAGE OF SIR JOHN RUSSELL, TO THE DEATH OF THE
DUKE OF BOURBON.

A.D. 1526-1527.

Sir John sent on a fresh mission to Italy, Jan. 1527... His reception at Rome, Feb. 4... Subjects of negociation and interviews with the Pope, the Ferrarese Ambassador, the Agent of Bourbon, and Viceroy of Naples... An accident... The Pope retires from the Holy League... Sir John's remonstrances—prevails on him to sign a fresh agreement, April 26... March of the Spaniards from Milan, sack of Rome, and Bourbon's death, May 6.

THE state of affairs in Italy rendered Sir John's retirement to A.D. 1527.
the tranquil pleasures of domestic life of very short duration. He was summoned from the society of his lady in the January of 1527, and sent on a fresh mission, to the papal court. In the interval, various changes had taken place, which exhibit in new attitudes the personages of our drama. The French king's sister, the widowed Duchesse d'Alençon, but better known under the name of Margaret of Valois, the sprightly Queen of Navarre in after years, who amused her travelling hours by the composition of the tales that bear her name, had been permitted to visit him in Spain. One of the principal objects which Louise of Savoy had in this appointment was, that the youthful duchess might captivate the emperor's heart, who was known to be not merely disposed to, but resolved on, instant marriage.¹

¹ Sir John observes, in a letter to Wolsey from Milan, June 11, 1525:
"In case the king will not conclude the marriage (of the Princess Mary)

A.D. 1527. She arrived at the Court of Toledo in the beginning of October; but Charles was proof to the fascination of her eyes, and after a courteous but guarded reception, which shewed how little she could calculate on the influence of her charms, politely conducted her to the presence of her brother, and left her to solace, as she might, his solitary hours. Francis was at this time languishing in sickness, induced, in a great measure, by the "pangs of hope deferred;" he had been relieved, however, by a visit from the emperor, whose courteous assurances tended to revive his hopes, and the soothing attentions of his favourite sister completed his recovery. Before the termination of the year, the treaty of Madrid had been arranged; by which, amongst other conditions, Burgundy was to be ceded to the emperor, the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois renounced, two million crowns to be paid for the king's ransom, in addition to the emperor's debt with England, and the two eldest sons of Francis to be delivered as hostages. His freedom and the hand of Eleanora were to be the sole recompense for such mighty sacrifices. Stipulations so severe were little likely to be long observed; and accordingly, after the transports of the royal captive on his liberation, at the consciousness of being once more an unfettered king, had subsided, he absolutely refused to ratify the cession of Burgundy. The Bed of Justice which the king convoked to justify his refusal, not only supported him in his determination, but boldly declared that the treaty was not binding, as it was extorted from the monarch during his captivity, when his will was in abeyance. The parliament of Paris

with the emperor, he saith, he will marry with the King of Portugal's daughter; for he will no longer be unmarried."—Vitellius, B. vii. fol. 149.

expressed, at the same time, its lively sympathy with his misfortunes, and its strong attachment to his person, doubly endeared to them by his reckless generosity;¹ and authorised him to raise two million crowns for the ransom of his children, and to place the kingdom in a condition correspondent with the attitude which it assumed in June, when the confederation, known under the title of "the Holy League of Italy," was solemnly proclaimed amidst the pomp of religious ceremonies. A.D. 1527.

Pope Clement was the principal instigator of this "Holy Alliance;" in which his private interests and passions induced Wolsey to act a subordinate, though by no means an inefficient, part. The federation comprised France, England, the Duke of Milan, the Venetian States, and the titular head of the church. Henry was complimented with the title of its Protector, and was required to furnish money, whilst the leaguers brought into the field thirty thousand foot, seven thousand six hundred men-at-arms, or lancers, and two thousand two hundred light horse. Francis, in whose bosom a father's feelings stirred more strongly than either ambition or resentment, was with some difficulty brought to engage in hostilities; he sought first to secure a peace, and the redemption of his sons by money; but the subtle practices of Wolsey, and the yet more eager solicitations of the pope, had combined to fix his wavering resolution. To a fresh war the emperor appeared equally reluctant. He appealed, before its commencement, both to Clement and the College of Cardinals, earnestly conjuring them not to provoke him to the conflict; and stating, almost with prophetic foresight, that

¹ He had, during his imprisonment, signed a deed, voluntarily resigning the crown in favour of the Dauphin, to whom he desired the French people to transfer their allegiance, and to consider him as having quitted the world.

A.D. 1527. if in this case it should occasion any calamity or indignity to the Apostolic See, to them alone the guilt would be imputed, in whom it would so clearly originate.

The first indignity which the pope received as the fruit of his warlike disposition, was inflicted by internal faction. Having inconsiderately disbanded his army, he was surprised by an irruption of the Cardinal Colonna, who, in concert with one of his kinsmen, raised a force near Naples, to avenge the quarrel of his family, marched with it to Rome, took unresisted possession of the city, forced the pope and cardinals to fly for safety to the Castle of St. Angelo, and starving them into a capitulation, compelled the pontiff to expiate his offence by the loss of his valuables in the Vatican, and by a promise to withdraw for four months his quota of soldiers from the Milanese. Under the exasperation of this outrage, Clement broke the faith he had just pledged, sent into Switzerland for a greater number of her armed mercenaries, and implored the King of England and his minister for succours. He might rejoice that the war would be waged on the emperor's part, without the military talents of the Marquis of Pescara, who had recently died at Milan at the age of thirty-six; but there was another general, whose genius might suffice to lead the imperialists again to victory—the fearful and irresistible Bourbon.

This illustrious exile had been received in Spain with every demonstration of regard. He was met without Toledo by the emperor in person, and by all the nobility of Spain; had entered the city side by side with Charles, amidst enthusiastic acclamations; and had been afterwards entertained with every diversion that could gratify his taste or fancy. Yet, as the difficulties of the treaty were prolonged, he was induced, though with extreme unwillingness, to resign

his pretensions to the Dowager of Portugal, in favour of A.D. 1527. that monarch whom he so little loved. So long as he might flatter himself with expectations of obtaining the brilliant Duchesse d'Alençon—and he courted her society with a devotion that shewed how agreeable it was to him—he might less feel the offered slight, or more dissemble his real feelings. In the treaty of Madrid, moreover, his interests had been carefully consulted; but it ill suited the emperor's views to forward a marriage that would have the effect of returning his ablest captain into France; and when the duchess had left Spain, and his own choice of an honourable return to the Bourbonnois was cut off by the refusal to ratify the treaty, the duke was less careful of concealing his discontent. His offended dignity led Charles to consider how he might still use the warrior, whilst he satisfied the man. The Holy League was to be combated and broken. He gave the duke, therefore, a written promise to invest him with the Milanese, when the process against Sforza, for his defection, should be concluded. He had at the same time furnished him with eight hundred horse and one hundred thousand ducats, and vowed that he might assuredly depend upon further aids proportioned to his need, and in due time, a sum sufficient for the payment of that army in Italy, to which such vast arrears were due. Bourbon placed little trust in the asseveration; but the donative of a kingdom amidst wars wherein he might attain a station independent equally of emperor and king, operated as a spur both to his courage and ambition. He parted from Madrid, debarked at Genoa, consoled, as well as he was able, the inhabitants of Milan for the frightful outrages and woes they had endured; conquered, in the sight of three armies, its oft-besieged

A.D. 1527. and stubbornly defended castle ; compelled the dethroned Sforza to retire to Como on a pension, and gratefully recompensed, with vacant offices of state, those friends who had so faithfully followed his poor fortunes. A thousand difficulties yet stared him in the face. With few resources, no money, magazines, or ammunition, with an army insolently clamorous for pay, and surrounded by the murmurs and maledictions of a people ground down by repeated exactions, he had to call up all the energies of his creative mind, to maintain his dubious acquisition and contested title, against an army pressing fast towards him, under the chivalrous command of the Marquis de Saluces. But he was equal to the emergency. He called to his assistance Freundsberg, the formidable Lutheran, who quickly levied to his banner sixteen thousand lance-knights, attracted by hope and the memory of Pavia rather than by pay, as he had no more than a crown to distribute to each soldier, to commence the march at the approach of winter, and through a country devastated both by pestilence and war. His march was rapid, and hastened by anxiety, as he had an only son shut up in Milan with Bourbon. He forced his way through Placentia, in despite of every opposition ; but before reaching Milan the troubles of the duke were infinitely augmented. He had already been compelled to a forced loan upon the city of thirty thousand crowns, much to its annoyance ; but as he vowed that on receiving it he would withdraw his soldiery from the city, his requests were complied with. On this occasion he is said to have expressed a wish that he might die by the first musket-shot fired by the enemy, if he should not keep his promise. His necessities prevented him from doing this,—and the malediction was remembered after its singular fulfilment. Far

from being able to entertain the advancing lance-knights, A.D. 1527. he was obliged to give his own soldiery license to extract their pay from the people, over whose calamities pity, if not horror, draws a veil. The emperor, neglectful altogether of his needs, seemed resolved that he should perish in his poverty : there was but one resource at hand to enforce a temporary supply. The ex-chancellor Moroni was in prison, and condemned to lose his head. Bourbon sent to offer him pardon for twenty thousand crowns ; the prisoner sought to make a better composition ; the duke's only reply was, the demand of twenty thousand more, and a scaffold raised under his window. Thus warned, Moroni counted out the money the night preceding his intended execution. When it had been paid, Bourbon had a wish to see and speak with an old man so celebrated by his boldness, energy, and talent : he admired his eloquence, sounded his disposition, and made him his confidential minister. Moroni attached himself, with equal unreserve, to a prince who seemed well calculated to deliver Italy from the oppression of all factions ; and whilst Lannoy carried his arms into the territories of the church, these two determined spirits, it may be, concerted even now the plans which only resolute and fiery natures would have dared to execute. In this state of affairs the year 1526 came to a conclusion.

In 1525, after the battle of Pavia, the pontiff had declared, with reference to the elements of change in Europe, that " if the war continued, men would see A NEW WORLD shortly ! " His own alternate indecision and rash fatality of action, concurred most singularly with the current of events set afloat by other agencies, to the accomplishment of the prediction. Strongly averse at that time to the war, he had lately rushed into it with blind impatience ; and now,

A.D. 1527. urged at one time to resentful hostility by the indignities of the Colonna, and counselled to peace, on the other, by his own penury and danger, he displayed the most timid indecision, in straits from which resolve and steady counsels could alone have extricated him. Every occurrence that was taking place contributed to this mental fluctuation. Both England and Spain, on the news of his calamity, resented the outrage to his person. On the strength of a sympathising letter, received from the emperor by Cæsar Fieramosca, promising to avenge him with a filial care, Clement set on foot negotiations for a truce of two years, which he was willing to purchase by payment of one hundred thousand ducats, the viceroy then besieging Frusulone, a town within forty miles of Rome, and agreeing at his request to an eight days' armistice. Henry, upon his part, sent his condolences by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the master of his jewel-house, and Sir John Russell, who was commissioned to move the viceroy and Bourbon to a farther suspension of arms, in order to give time to treat of peace, if it should be judged indispensable; whilst, to comfort his despondence arising from an exhausted treasury, Sir John was empowered to advance thirty thousand ducats, on the pope's compliance with certain propositions. At the same time came M. Robadanges from the French king, with ten thousand more, and a promise of yet farther succour. This seasonable aid revived his courage; and before the eight days were expired, his troops had treacherously attacked the viceroy, and forced him to a midnight retreat upon the way to Naples. The success for awhile so cheered the pontiff's spirits, that he followed up the advantage by exciting an attack upon that kingdom, under the Count de Vaudemont. The following letter announces some of these particulars, and, together with the reception which Russell

met with at Rome, states the nature of his mission. It is A.D. 1527. addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, in Sir John's hand-writing, and is signed conjointly by him and Sir Gregory Casalis.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Pleaseth your grace to understand, that I arrived at Civitas Vecchia the 4th of this month, where I tarried a day and a half ere I could get horses, notwithstanding the captain, Andrea Doria, did what he could to provide for me, and himself companied me with certain hand-guns and other for surety, to conduct me hither. The second day after, we arrived here; and the pope's holiness having knowledge of my sure being, sent a Turkey horse which he rideth upon himself for me, and another for Mr. Wyatt,¹ with also other Turkish and good horses for my company; and met me the said horses twelve miles from Rome. The Datary,² with certain other gentlemen, met me two miles without this town, and accompanied me to my lodging, and needs would have had me to have lodged in the palace, and had prepared for the same: notwithstanding I made refuse thereof for that time, seeing that it was not best for me so to do, because that others that came in like message from other princes were not lodged there; wherefore the same should cause a jealousy to be had amongst them, for that I should be better entreated than they. Whereunto he answered, that the pope's holiness was more bound unto the king's highness than to any other prince, and that he had done more for him than all the princes Christian. All this notwithstanding, I went to Gregory de Casalis's for that night, who also met with me four or five miles out of this said town. In the morning after, the Pope's Holiness sent to me the datary, with certain other prelates and gentlemen, to bring me to him; and after I had declared my charge, and shewed him the good mind that the king and your grace beareth towards

¹ This letter settles the fact, so strongly questioned by Mr. Nott in his "Life of Wyatt," of that poet's having actually visited Italy. He was subsequently taken prisoner by the Imperialists.

² Giovanni Matteo Ghiberti, the learned and pious Bishop of Verona: he was a great protector of men of letters, and had himself a press in his palace for the printing of the Greek fathers.

A.D. 1527. him, his holiness was very glad, and greatly comforted, rejoicing more in that the king's highness sent him, than though any other prince had sent him 200,000 ducats, because his (trust) was upon his gentleness for the defence of the church; and others did not perform that they had promised. Wherefore he esteemeth himself as greatly bound to the king's highness and your grace, as ever Pope was to any prince; and, as he saith, the same could never come in better time than now. This sending hath also greatly rejoiced this said city; insomuch, that every man saith, that the king's highness doth shew himself Defensor of the Faith, according to his title, and by the same hath relieved them that were half dead; insomuch, that I think verily the king never spent money that shall sound more for his honour and fame than this. It is not to be marvelled though he were in great fear: surely he was in great danger, forasmuch as the viceroy with a great number came hitherward, demanding as high demand, as though he had had the Pope prisoner (and far out of reason), and his holiness was unprovided both of money and men; and besides, that by a view taken, is known that here are 700,000 Spaniards.

And whereas is mentioned in your grace's last letters, that I should move the pope's holiness to send amply his commissions to his ambassadors there, for the treaty of peace, with the same,—therewithal he is very well contented, and doth send the said commissions accordingly; and freely putteth the same wholly into your hands, praying you to conclude the said peace, which he much desireth; and gladly will the same should pass through your hands, for that he verily thinketh your grace will have regard to his honour, and to the wealth of the church, as much as his holiness. And if there be no suspension of arms here, as I think there will not, the pope's holiness saith, that he will follow the wars galliardly to the uttermost of his power; by the reason whereof, they shall be the more gladder to come to a good peace; and his holiness hath sold all his patrimony, and as much as he could sell, to the church appertaining.

He hath also written to the French king for the marriage of my lady princess (Mary), and no man living more gladder of it than he is. And in one article of mine instructions is specified that the pope's holiness should advertise the French king, that in case he

do not condescend to the said marriage, that then he should be driven to make his own peace with the emperor. His holiness in this behalf writeth at this time unto the said French king, and hath already shewed his ambassador here; whereupon the said ambassador writeth to his master, saying, that if he do refuse, and not conclude the said marriage, that he followeth evil counsel, and forsaketh the greatest wealth that ever came to France. A.D. 1527.

I offered myself to the pope's holiness to go to the viceroy to persuade him for cessation of arms, which he liketh very well; but as now the said viceroy is retired and withdrawn, and the pope saith his men shall pursue him as fast as they can; wherefore he willeth me to tarry awhile till he hear how his army shall speed; for it is thought here that he shall be fain to speak first, for all his brags; and, that if he be well pursued, the army in Lombardy will more gladly condescend to some good peace. Whereupon we did move the datary and the Count da Carpi, who is the French king's ambassador here, and a very wise man, to send forth 20,000 men, which be here already, and twenty gallies that doth nothing, to transport and land them in Terracina, which is betwixt the viceroy and Gaeta; and so to molest him in such manner that he shall have no victuals, nor go to Gaeta, where he thinketh to go.

The imperials having Geronimo Moroni prisoner, made composition with him for his delivery to pay 20,000 ducats, which he hath paid, and after took him again prisoner, and was confessed and ready to have lost his head, unless he would grant to pay 20,000 more; whereunto he agreed; and until the sum be paid his son lieth in hostage.

I have found the pope's holiness conformable to all such articles as is specified in my instructions; whereupon I have delivered him the money, and have also shewn his holiness of the good mind your grace beareth to him, and what you have done and doeth daily for him: whereunto he answered, that he was as much bound to you as to any man living, and that he hath found it well now in his necessity; insomuch that your grace for so doing hath won here great honour and fame. I am greatly bound to the datary, who saith, that he is one of your servants, and giveth your grace great praise, and for your sake keepeth me company, and rideth about the town with me for recreation; a solace which he useth to do

A.D. 1527. with no stranger that cometh. Where I lie in the palace, I am marvellous well entreated, and all at the pope's cost; and gentles sent to keep me company daily, as also doth Master Sanga, who, in like wise, reckoneth himself as one of your grace's servants.

At the conflict that was now, there was many Spaniards slain; and the more part of them was

As this night arrived here Signor Renzo, who came from the camp, and saith, that the viceroy hath divided his army into three towns of the pope's, upon the confines of Naples, and himself retired into another town, called Ponte Corvo. The said Signor Renzo hath shewed the pope's holiness, that he with 5 or 6000 men will go to a country called Bre(scia), towards a city called Lag . . . , which country is of great parties, and there shall find many friends, as well of certain banished out of Naples, which is withdrawn thither by the pope's help, as also of other the inhabitants; so that from thence they may go surely to Naples and elsewhere, and the same constrain the said viceroy to retire himself into strong towns, so that the country shall be clear, and at their pleasure. And for that enterprise the said Signor Renzo shall receive here 20,000 ducats, parcel of the 30,000 ducats which the French king sent hither by one Robadanges, notwithstanding his commission was to deliver 10,000 ducats to the pope, and 20,000 to the said Signor Renzo, therewithal to do his pleasure. It is thought here that this enterprise is likely to take good effect, and better than that of Terracina aforesaid. And notwithstanding the said enterprise of the said Signor Renzo, his holiness will maintain the army against the viceroy, and is determined to follow the wars to the uttermost of his power, upon the trust and comfort of such words as I have given him, according to my commission; and verily trusteth that the king and you will never see him in danger nor peril; and saith, that all the princes Christian should not have made him do so much as the king's highness and your grace.

The pope's holiness thinketh it not needful for me to go to the Duke of Bourbon, for the viceroy hath all the authority; so that he, nor the Duke of Ferrara, can do nothing without the consent of the said viceroy. As this day Sir Gregory and I sent for the Duke of Ferrara's ambassador, shewing him that I had letters to his master from the king's highness, and com-

mission to speak with him; but for because the ways were so dangerous through Lombardy, I durst not come by him, nor yet cannot see how I might speak with him. I shewed him the good mind that the king's highness and your grace beareth towards him, and that it should be well done he looked to his affairs, and that the king's highness and your grace would be loth to see him fall into any danger or peril; and for the difference that is between the pope and him, if he would put it into the king's hands, he may be well assured that better way should be taken than though he pursued force of arms. Whereunto he answereth, that his master allegeth great fault both in the pope's holiness and in the French king; for that he was never called to enter into the said league, seeing that he was fain to make his way with the emperor, for fear lest others should have set upon him. There hath been certain conversations between the pope's holiness and the said ambassador, for the delivery of Modena upon certain sums of money, which could never take effect; and yet the said ambassador saith, that his master will be glad to fall to agreement, and to enter into the league with the pope, so that he may part from the emperor with his honour. Whereunto I answered, that he might lawfully so do; for that, as I am assured, the emperor hath not kept all promises with him, insomuch that I think the end betwixt them might be shortly made, in case they would hearken to the same here. Upon this Sir Gregory and I have communed with the pope's holiness therein, praying his holiness to have respect in that behalf, and to consider what prejudice it should be to the emperor, to take him from him, and what advantage it should be to have him in his league. This matter shall be so practised, that I trust the same shall take good effect, and thereof consequently shall advertise your grace from time to time.

And whereas, in mine instructions is specified that I should feel to whom the pope's highness inclineth most for the enjoying of the Duchy of Milan, your grace shall understand that, as far as I can perceive, both his holiness and the Venetians' mind is, that this man, Francis Sforza, should have it before any man. The saying is here, that M. de Vaudemont's coming hither was to have the pope's niece, and that the Duke of Albany laboureth

A.D. 1527. as much as he can, that the King of Scots should have her, and the Duke of Ferrara in likewise for his son. Then I shewed Sir Gregory that I thought she should be a meet match for my Lord of Richmond; and so amongst other communications we asked the datary whether M. de Vaudemont went about such thing or no; and he said no. We then said, that if the pope's holiness would marry her to so good alliance, we knew where he should bestow her better than of any that is yet rehearsed, namely, upon a duke in England, that might spend as much as two of the best of them. He perceived straight whom we meant, and thought that the pope would be very well contented to have such alliance. Then we said we had no commission to speak of no such thing, but that we did was upon our own head. If your grace thinketh the same meet, pleaseth you to advertise us of your pleasure on that behalf.

It hath been moved the pope's holiness divers times now in his necessity to make cardinals; but he would never condescend thereunto, and thought them not his friends that moved him to it. Notwithstanding, according to your grace's commandment, I spoke to him for the datary, the pope's nuncio, and for my lord of Worcester, desiring his holiness, if he made any, that they might be in the number. Whereunto he answered that he made none; but when it should chance him to make any, he would be glad to do your grace all the pleasure he could possible, thanking you for your good remembrance of him. By my tarrying at Paris for my despatches, and at Savona for my passage, and at Civitas Vecchia for horse, I lost above fourteen days. At my departure your grace said, that after my charge declared I should return homeward; pleaseth your grace to send me your farther pleasure in that behalf. And thus Jesus preserve your grace in long life and continual prosperity. Written at Rome the 11th day of February.

Your humble Servant, J. RUSSELL.

Umillimo servitor, GREGORY CASALIS.¹

On the following day, Sir John was visited by the Duke of Bourbon's ambassador. His point with him was to gain

¹ Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 47.

time, and prevent if possible the marching forward of the army from the Milanese. After mutual salutations, he endeavoured to dispose the duke to the truce, stating to the ambassador that his court “favoured him highly;” that when he had done all, and made the trial, he would find none more observant of his interest than the King of England; and that a good peace or truce would be more for his advantage and the weal of Christendom, than a longer continuance of the war. He would not then, he said, enter farther into the particulars of his commission, but reserve, till he saw the duke, the mention of what would give him pleasure. The ambassador replied, that the duke was well aware of Sir John’s friendship; that he thought the viceroy, and he knew his master; would be disposed to put the affair into his hands, and consent to whatever agreement he should make with the pope on his behalf. To interpose for all parties, Sir John said, was a great and difficult task; yet if the duke would march his army upon no new enterprise, till he heard farther from him, he would endeavour to make such an arrangement as should be assuredly consistent with his honour and advantage.¹

Sir John, in the next place, proceeded, before the conclusion of the month, to Cipriani, on the borders of Naples, to have an audience of the viceroy. In the presence of the princes of the kingdom, he delivered the king and cardinal’s letters, and required him to engage in no new action that should have a tendency to interrupt the conclusion of that peace, to which the emperor by Fieramosca had shewn himself disposed. The viceroy answered, that he would be glad to do the king every service that was consistent with his

¹ Letter to Wolsey, Feb. 12. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 50.

A.D. 1527. honour ; that authority to conclude the peace was reposed as well in Don Ugo Moncada and the Archbishop of Capua, or two of them in the absence of the third ; but that for himself he had no disinclination to bring it to a good effect. Sir John then expressed his trust that he would demand no such terms of money, towns, and hostages, as he had lately done, as it would be labour lost, he being assured that the pope would never now condescend to them. It was urged by Lannoy, that the pope had already consented to give two hundred thousand ducats for payment of the lance-knights, on their retirement out of Italy, and so to have a truce for three years. It was true, Sir John replied, but the conditions were unratified ; that of late he was in great necessity of money, friends, and soldiers ; whereas now he was provided of all, and his affairs and undertakings were daily more successful. Upon this remonstrance, Lannoy agreed to treat for suspension of arms for a twelvemonth, and to waive many of his former demands ; but he persisted in sending Fieramosca to the pope again with his new conditions, and to urge an entirely separate accommodation. The Archbishop of Capua and the Florentines also strongly counselled the pontiff at all hazards to enter alone into the armistice ; it required all Sir John's force of reason, and all Sir Gregory's eloquence, to persuade him against a measure so injurious to his allies, and to himself so little advantageous. They were with him four days in succession, for several hours in deep and earnest argument. Clement piteously urged his miserable condition ; said that he was utterly destitute of money ; that there were grounds for fear lest Florence should be sacked, in which case Rome itself might be the next victim, which, unfortified as it was, could offer no defence. He declared that the Duke d'Urbino, who commanded the Venetian army, would never cross the

Po to his assistance, for that, as he loved him not, he would A.D. 1527.
not only do nothing that should tend to his profit or security,
but would much rejoice in his inprosperity and ruin. They
stated that it would be time enough for him to fix his own
security after all other endeavours had failed ; and to assure
him the more, they obliged the Viceroy to give surety on the
banks for two hundred thousand ducats, to keep good faith
in all arrangements. He then consented to propose to the
French and Venetian ambassadors, that they should become
parties to the armistice: the former declared he had no autho-
rity to do so ; the latter said, that it was necessary first to have
the consent of France ; but promised, before the end of the
month, to go to Venice and return with a hundred thousand
crowns for the maintenance of the army, if he would wait
until that period. “ I offered myself,” also says Sir John, in
his letters of the 24th February, “ to go to Venice to speak
with the seignory there, and with the French ambassador,
viz. the Bishop of Bayeux, for to have them enter into the
said league. My going is agreed, to bring in effect one of
these two points,—either to move and cause them to make
good war, and to join with the French army and the pope’s,
or else to cause them to enter into the said league. And
until my return the pope is contented to refrain, and not to
make none appointment in any wise. If we had not laboured
diligently and effectually, the appointment had been passed
and concluded ere this time. And notwithstanding that it was
mentioned in mine instructions, that if the pope saw such
need he should make his end ; as yet, I have not declared him
no such thing, for I saw yet no cause why ; for since mine
arrival here his matters have gone as prosperous as he could
devise himself, and daily he hath good news of his army.”¹

¹ Russell to Wolsey, Feb. 24th. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 61.

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Sir John lost no time in setting out for Venice, but he had the misfortune on the way to break his leg.¹ He therefore sent by Sir Thomas Wyatt despatches to the purport of his intended proposal to the senate, who replied, that they would enter into no truce without the assent of France. In the meantime, the papal troops, who had defeated the viceroy, rising in mutiny for the want of pay, brought back upon the pontiff all his former terrors; so that, yet more mistrusting the Venetians from their recent answer, he finally consented to a suspension of arms for eight months; and the agreement was ratified on the 29th of March, the viceroy subscribing it for the emperor. But there were rumours afloat, that his supreme command in Italy was revoked in favour of Bourbon, who, at all events, commanded the larger portion of the army. If Clement's judgment had not been strangely blinded by his fears, he would surely have been alive to the invalidity of such a treaty; yet such was his precipitancy, and such his fatuity, that not only did he slight that general, whose formidable power he had acknowledged, but immediately disbanded his two thousand Swiss, and the black band of his late heroic nephew, Giovanni de' Medici.² This pacification, concluded without their consent, and, in fact, without consulting them, offended all his friends. The Roman cardinals and prelates censured him, because, expecting a sure

¹ Guicciardini; *Istoria di Italia*.

² He was desperately wounded, whilst disputing Friendsberg's passage on the road to Borgoforte, by a cannon-ball, which broke his thigh. He was carried to Mantua, and submitted to an amputation. The surgeons told him he must be held whilst they performed the operation. "No!" he exclaimed; "cut on. No one need hold me; twenty would not suffice for that—cut away!" He himself held the lamp whilst they operated: the result was unfavourable. The approach of death gave him less trouble than the inglorious state in which, he fancied, it would find him; and "Must I die here," he exclaimed impatiently, "amidst bandages and plasters! how excessively vexatious!"—*Brantome*, vol. v. p. 21.

victory, it left their pomp and grandeur shorn; Venice, A.D. 1527. because it turned the tide of war towards her states; the Duke of Milan, because he thereby lost his duchy; Florence, because she saw, that, being no party to it, Bourbon would not be bound by it; and the kings of France and England, because they judged that Clement, having acted only from his own will now, would continue to shew the like disregard of theirs. Acting upon the sentiments of his cabinet, we find Sir John, on the 20th of March, so far recovered from his accident as to be again in Rome, remonstrating with the pope for the agreement he was pledged to.

“ We shewed him,” he observes to Wolsey, “ that if he had kept himself to the league, according to his promise, a good peace would shortly have succeeded in England, as might well be perceived by your grace’s letters; and now that he is causer that there shall be more wars in Italy than ever there was, and that the emperor will be more higher in his demands than he was before, which shall be the ruin of all Italy. We shewed him that he had done evil to give the French men and the Venetians so little term to enter into the league; and that the imperials had done this because they would separate him from all other confederates. Further, that we were well assured, that when the viceroy came he would persuade him to make some other appointment with him, advising him to take heed, and beware to lose all princes Christian for their fair, flattering words; and that he had done evil enough already by this appointment, and to beware he do not worse.”¹ Clement, sensible how truly he deserved such language from the envoy of the prince he had abandoned, whose late remittance had been sent expressly for a

¹ Russell and Casalis to Wolsey, Rome, March 20. Vit. ix. f. 75.

A.D. 1527. military purpose, in humiliating terms lamented sorely whilst he extenuated the act; urging, in his excuse, the desperate conjuncture of all circumstances, and the fearful perils that, gathering around, imposed on him the stern and sad necessity. And certainly the nature of the blow that followed, whereof these circumstances formed the dim prognostics, connected with Clement's fatality of action, whose politics seemed crazed by a singular confusion, irresistibly impress the mind, considerate of the rise, the progress, the character, and inspired denunciations against the papacy, with the conviction that an overruling power was at this period visibly at work, concentrating from various quarters an array against it—of arms, which it had often waged itself—of intellect, which it had long tyrannically controlled—and of contempt, hate, and indignation, which it had as long provoked. Under pagan Rome, the cause of this impending attack, similar in its fury and subsequent atrocity to those savage inroads of the Goths and Huns, which broke down its gigantic fabric, would naturally have been termed Necessity, the goddess, and, as Euripides always represents her, the omnipotent controller of all human destiny. But under papal Rome, whose frame, in the person of its mitred hierarch, received thereby a shock which it has never since recovered, the agency by which it was produced deserves a name more truly correspondent with the representations of our sacred faith. The gathered tempest already hung upon the Apennines. If considered in its course as the minister of chastisement to the crimes, the luxuries, the fearful blasphemies, and persecutions of a hundred pontiffs, it will be regarded, certainly with curiosity and interest, but with none of that sacred pity which often attaches to the desolation and the woes of suffering states.

The Duke of Bourbon, when it became no longer possible

to retain in the Milanese his needy army, departed with a A.D. 1527. design to overrun the papal territories, and menaced equally Modena, Bologna, and Florence. He was then at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand soldiers, of various nations, customs, languages, and creeds. He commenced his march in total destitution of even the necessities of life, threatened alike by the foe, by famine, and by winter. Twelve hundred Italians, under the Count Cajazze, affrighted by the prospect, went over to the enemy, and a stroke of apoplexy deprived him of the aid of Freundsberg, whilst the hostile Duke d'Urbino, with an equal army, followed at a distance all his motions. He held on, however, towards Bologna, and reached the castle of St. John, three miles distant from that city. Whilst there he suffered greatly from excessive rains, and from snows, which were succeeded by a biting frost. The privations of the army had no sooner been relieved by supplies from Ferrara, than a formidable mutiny broke out amongst the Germans in his camp; the Spaniards joined them, and, with frightful cries for money, proceeded to the general's tent. Bourbon had scarcely time to save himself by flight; one of his gentlemen was slain. The uproar was at length appeased by the distribution of two ducats a man—a loan which was solicited and obtained from the Duke of Ferrara. Bourbon extinguished its last sparks by a noble generosity, abandoning to the troops all his utensils, jewels, equipage, and wardrobe; a single war-horse, suit of armour, and robe of cloth of silver, was all that remained to him of the riches he had once possessed. His hardy devotedness and sympathy with their distress awoke the admiration of the soldiery; and from seditious murmurs they passed at once to the most enthusiastic acclamations, likening him in unpremeditated songs to the noblest heroes of antiquity.

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The camp was in this state of excitation, when Fieramosca arrived from the viceroy with the signed treaty, and the request that the duke's army might be drawn back beyond the Po. The soldiery were filled with rage at the demand, and would have slain the messenger outright if he had not fled into Ferrara.¹ Bourbon, not unwilling to retort upon the viceroy his former malevolence, demanded two hundred thousand ducats as the price of his return, which he, pledged to the retreat of the army, made efforts to obtain; but the Pope refused to enter into any negociation for the money until the foe had fallen back. Thus, the destitute array continued to march on, burning and ravaging the country, till they reached the wintry Apennines. The sufferings they endured in passing them were frightful; they had no bread, no drink but water; but subsisted upon herbs, and flesh suited rather to the gorge of vultures than the appetite of men. On the 12th of April, they arrived at Monte Varchi, and there the duke awaited the pope's decision on his demands.

Sir John Russell and his friend Casalis, foreseeing, that as time passed on, and the army drew nearer, its requisitions would only rise the higher, in consideration of the pontiff's poverty, when they had heard of Fieramosca's dangerous encounter, thought that greater safety was to be anticipated from a resolute resistance, and strongly urged the indecisive

¹ Russell to Wolsey; Rome, March 20. Nine days after, he and Casalis write: "The datary laudeth much and always your honour and wisdom, and wisheth divers times they would have followed your counsels here. Your grace hath won here a great and perpetual fame, for now they perceive your acts and works daily more and more; so that if your grace might have been here with wishing, *you should have been pope long since*, and that then they would not have feared to have won the greatest honour that ever came to the church, and also a wealth for all Christendom. The gentlemen, prelates, and other the inhabitants here, doth not only sperse this, but the cardinals also."—*Vitellius*, B. ix. fol. 78.

Clement to provide for his defence. From other quarters A.D. 1527. Clement had been frequently solicited to raise money for his exigence by the creation of new cardinals ; but this, although often acted upon by that venal court, he, in what Guicciardini terms, “ his great obstinacy,” refused to do;¹ preferring rather, amidst the various counsels offered him, to avert the pressing danger by calling upon France, whom he had abandoned, for arms and succour. In expectation also of aid from England, he sought to gratify Wolsey by a fresh treaty, that should extort Naples from the emperor ; and to terrify the coming army by an excommunication, truly merited, it must be confessed, if such a punishment were appropriate for the atrocities to which famine and revenge had incited it—and appropriate it was then blindly considered by the adherents of the papal church. It was in reference to these events that on the 26th Sir John thus wrote :—

¹ Sharon Turner comments with some asperity on Casalis and Sir John Russell for having, according to the instructions of their court, added their persuasions to those of others for such a measure : it is perhaps the only public act of Sir John’s that cannot be defended ; but the political guilt cannot be very heavy ; the whole system and practice of the papal court being founded in the grossest venality, where ecclesiastical offices, bishoprics, and the cardinal’s hat amongst the rest, were constantly and openly put up for sale to the highest bidder. Clement, who is noted by contemporary historians as a most profound dissembler, to render his final compliance the greater favour, affected at first great horror at the proposal, saying, “ he would rather lose his right hand than ever do or consent to it ; and that it was his perpetual shame to make any for money.” Mr. Turner compliments him on his much-enduring virtue. He was afterwards a little less scrupulous, creating, to free himself from his imprisonment, other cardinals, who paid well for their promotion ; and licensing the Spaniards to sell benefices, within Naples, to the extent of six thousand crowns. His *virtue* was manifested again during the negociations for Henry’s divorce, when, to escape the difficulty in which he was placed between the king and emperor, he suggested to the English ambassador, “ that he could permit Henry to have *two wives* !” Lord Herbert’s Henry VIII. p. 302. Casalis’s Letter to Henry VIII.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.¹

A.D. 1527. Pleaseth your grace to understand that the 22d of this month I received your letters of the 20th of March, advertising us by the Venetians' ambassador of the pope's appointment consent and procurement being present. Whereof as well the French king and Venetians' ambassador here knoweth as your grace may perceive by our continual advertisement, if they be come to your hands. As touching the delivery of money, it was not done so unadvisedly in haste, but that the French men had delivered theirs three days afore; nor yet so in suspicion of the pope's revolting, but that they delivered another sum eight days after: so that in no wise have I passed mine instructions. Nevertheless the appointment we have always insisted (not) to have it admitted, and with such diligence, that days afore the arrival of your grace's letters, the pope was well inclined towards the forsaking of the said appointment, and to re-enter a new league; so that upon the knowledge by your letters of that was done by your grace, forthwith we ambassadors of the league, and the pope a new appointment accorded, the capitulation whereof we send to your grace with these.

The first appointment and demand that the viceroy made here with the pope was of 60,000 ducats; and after he had departed to Florence towards the camp, to cause Bourbon to accord to the same, which he would not do, but demanded 100,000 ducats; and while they treated farther they asked 200,000, and now increasing are come to 300,000; and that at the farthest to be paid in six days, whereof the viceroy should pay 40,000, who hath always shewed him to have gladly and directly willed the accord, with great words and promises, as well in favour of the pope as in the displeasure of Bourbon. But now he is withdrawing into Sienna for fear, as he saith, of the Almaines, but we think rather to get him out of the pope's hands, for else might he have been as sure in Florence. It is not to be thought little, considering the pope's fearful nature, to have returned him into the war; but now he hath

¹ Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 97.

desired us, since we have brought him thus far, to advertise as well A.D. 1527.
the king's highness and your grace, as also the French king, of the necessity; (and not wanting their help, in whose promises he trusteth, and specially in the king's and yours,) he is fully determined to spend the uttermost he may make; whereunto, the only trust that he hath in the king and you, hath brought him, and he considereth well the deceit and treason of the Imperials, sounding to his only undoing.

And upon this, because he may not spare the datary, that is his only meet servant for such purpose, he desired me to return, and passing, as well to declare to the French king his need, as to set him forward with speedy succour as he hath promised; which, within five or six days after I have set these matters in good forwardness, I have promised to do; ensuring your grace it is not without great necessity, for he hath these two days set all his friends here in Rome, and may not make above 400,000 ducats. And if he have not speedy help of the French king, this enterprise shall fall, and he shall lose his reputation here in Italy. The state of the Imperials' army your grace shall understand, by a letter coming from the pope's camp, which we send your grace with a letter in Latin, of the well-disposed condition of the league, which, as your grace thinketh the according to conduce for your treaties of peace, you may shew the emperor's ambassador. The general (Moncada) goeth shortly into Spain, and the pope sendeth one with him, to advertise the emperor of the deceit that his men work daily against him.¹ These men work more cruelly than Turks, destroying and burning houses of religion and all other as they pass; and

¹ Sir John had previously written, on the 1st of April: "I did advertise your grace by my former, how, immediately after my hurt, Master Wyatt went to Venice, from whence he, desirous to see the countries, went to Ferrara, intending so to come by Bologna and Florence hither. But briefly after his departure from Ferrara, notwithstanding the duke's safe conduct and his courier to accompany him, he was by the Spaniards taken as prisoner; for whose delivery I did not only write to the Duke of Bourbon, but caused the datary, by the pope's commandment, to write also, which could not serve, but (they) would needs put him to ransom for 3000 ducats. Yet, as this day, Sir Gregory had letters from Bologna, mentioning that Master Wyatt is escaped, and arrived there."—*Vitellius*, B. ix. fol. 85.

A.D. 1527. thrusting into a priest's barn a crucifix, burnt both the priest and it, and fouled another; in this time of Easter, when men should have received their Maker, they, finding many hosts, cast them into the water, besides (other) the like outrages. Such enormities was never seen, as is used amongst this company of Lutherans and Marraners. I think if the Universal Peace were concluded, that it lieth not in the emperor's power to command them out of Italy. As knoweth our Lord, who send your grace long life and continual prosperity. Written at Rome, the 26th of April.

Your humble servant,

J. RUSSELL.

Humil. S^{tor},

GREGORY CASALIS.

The new league was destined only to range its squadrons upon paper. Bourbon, whose repeated proposals to Lannoy appear to have been prompted less by the expectation of seeing them complied with, than to shame the haughty viceroy, till he became the by-word of all Italy, marched on to Arezzo; and there, knowing that Florence was defended by the Marquis de Saluces, he imparted to the army his design "of leading them to the sack of haughty and majestic Rome, promising to make them lords of it, and to submit to their disposal its people, gentlemen, and senators, its seigneurs, prelates, consistory of cardinals; and finally, that stately pope who filled so undeservedly the chair of good St. Peter."¹ This disclosure excited to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the soldiers: they replied with shouts of joy that they were ready to go wheresoever he would lead them, to make war, if necessary, on the universal world. All their sufferings and fatigues were forgotten in a moment. They proceeded with a rapidity proportioned to their ardour, traversing Tuscany at the rate of twenty miles a-day, as we learn from Sir John Russell in the last letter that he

¹ Brantome; Hommes Illustres.

addressed to Wolsey, written at Savona on his homeward way, May 11th.¹ From the letters he had received, and other computations, he judged that the imperial army had arrived at Rome upon the 6th. It is evident that he anticipated a siege of some duration: for the pope at last had consented to make six cardinals for 40,000 ducats each, and with the money had commissioned Renzo da Ceri to fortify the city, and to arm all the inhabitants in its defence; which Sir John thought might possibly prove sufficient against a needy army, destitute nearly of all machines but scaling-ladders, until succour should arrive from the allies. But he did not calculate sufficiently on the audacity, despair, and valour of the besieging army. On the very day he named, the 6th of May, the strife was finished, and that banner flourished over with the flying stags and flaming swords, was floating on the towers of Rome.

Having had occasion to enter so fully into Bourbon's story, we may perhaps be permitted to pursue it to its close. The duke arrived before Rome on the evening of the 5th. After pitching his camp before Mount Belvedere, after visiting the guards, and disposing his men for the assault, he harangued them for the last time, in short but eloquent and stirring terms:

“ My captains !” he exclaimed, “ who are all valorous and brave ; and you, my noble soldiers, whom I love ! Since the star of our destiny has brought us here, to the very spot which we have so long and ardently desired, after having passed the frightful horrors of wild roads and nodding snows, and cold intolerable, girt round by Alpine storms and enemies allowing us no respite, amid thirst and hunger, without

¹ Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 105.

A.D. 1527. means of satisfying the cravings of our common nature, and after suffering all that Nature could endure ! lo, now at length the time, now at length the happy hour, in which we may shew, by achieving the splendid enterprise before us, the courage, the heroism, and strength of your array ! Here, where you must be undone for ever, if you fail of conquest, or be for ever honoured, ennobled, and enriched ! Gain what you behold, and every hope of comfort, all honour, and all glory, will follow with your victory : for there is no enemy, there will be no foreign nation, that will not tremble at your name, and be struck pale with terror at the waving of your swords. When you assail the walls of Rome, the foe will turn his back in fright, and not a captain is there, be his bravery what it may, who will dare to shew his face in its defence. If ever you desired to sack a city for its wealth and treasures, behold one now in view, the noblest, the richest of them all ! the Lady of the World ! Win but the battle, and you become opulent and happy lords for life : if you lose it, misery will be yours, disgrace, and total ruin ! But O, my brothers, I discern assuredly that this is the fated city which in by-gone years an astrologer prefigured, when he said, that at the conquest of some city my fierce ascendant planet infallibly menaced me with death : but this, I swear to you, is the least of my anxieties ; for little indeed will be my care for death, if, dying, I remain with a perpetual glory, celebrated by the praise of the whole world !”¹

On the morrow, at the break of day, the duke, armed cap-a-pie, and wearing over his armour a white mantle, that he might be seen and recognised of all, made a rapid distribution of the three nations, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians,

¹ Brantome ; Vies des Hommes Illustres, Disc. xx.

for three different assaults. Under a thick fog, he conducted A.D. 1527.
his army in silence to the trenches, halted, and advanced nearly alone to the walls, in order to examine their height, and direct the escalade. A sentry, to whom had been committed the guard of a breach which the time had not permitted Da Ceri to repair, was standing on the ruined tower. A sunbeam clearing up the mist in part, displayed to him the military spectacle below. Panic-struck, he sought to reach the city, but in his confusion went in the direction of Bourbon. The duke expecting, from his movement, an immediate sally, gave the signal for the charge. The sentinel, finding his error, fled back along the breach; and Bourbon, noticing him, exclaimed, "Courage, friends! for Heaven itself points to us the path of victory!" He seized a ladder from a soldier standing by, applied it to the breach, and, sword in hand, began the ascent. He had not, however, mounted many steps, when a musket-shot—the shot he is said to have invoked at Milan—struck him on his left side. It was a mortal wound. But even in the pangs of death, he discovered his habitual magnanimity; for, falling with the wound, he desired a Gascon captain to cover him with his mantle, that his death might not deter the rest; and with this command, delivered with composure, as though he had sustained no ill or anguish, he fell backward and expired.

The Prince of Orange saw him fall, flew to receive his last embrace, and vowed a deep revenge. There was a rude French song, current in the mouths of the adventurers who survived that dreadful day, to the following effect:

When the noble Prince of Orange
Saw that Bourbon's life was sped,
Crying, "Santo Nicholas!
Santa Barbara!" I am dead! . . .

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(Not another word he said,
As to God his soul he gave,)
“ Sound ! sound all your trumpets, gallants !
On to the assault, ye brave !
Bring your engines, plant your ladders,
And beat down these walls of stone ;
All the wealth of all the Romans,
Sacked and pillaged, be your own !”

Meanwhile the soldiery rushed furiously to the assault ; and the rumour spreading, notwithstanding the precaution taken, that the duke was slain, they sought, like madmen, to revenge his death, crying out in Spanish, with infuriated gestures, “ For Bourbon ! Bourbon ! to the carnage ! to the storm !” These cries became the signal of the most heroic exploits. Forced from post to post by an irresistible irruption, the city soldiery fled on all sides in confusion, and were slaughtered as they fled. The city was so quickly taken, that the pontiff, who remained during the action prostrate before the altar of St. Peter, had scarcely time to save himself in the castle of St. Angelo, with about fourteen cardinals and the foreign ambassadors. The other members of the “ Sacred College,” all the Roman prelates, princes, nobles, citizens, and people, became a prey to the Imperialists, whom the death of their great leader rendered savage and inexorable.

We may be spared the delineation of the after picture. To the excesses of this conquering army, the predatory fury of the Goths and Vandals was mere mercy. Beauty, nobility, and innocence dishonoured, dignitaries hitherto accounted sacred and inviolate, made the victims and the sport of insolent caprice, and the symbols of the Catholic faith sullied and profaned — the very monuments despoiled which had

been respected by the Goths — were some features of the scene which Rome was fated to behold, not for a single day or week, but for two entire months. A.D. 1527.

L'Orror, la Crudeltà, la Tema, il Lutto,

Van d' intorno scorrendo ; e, in varia imago

Vincitrice la Morte errar per tutto

Vedresti, ed ondeggiar di sangue un lago.

Ger. Lib. c. ix. st. 93.

This dreadful visitation on the “ Eternal City ” had, like that of Jerusalem, its own portentous and prophetic warning. Guicciardini relates, that many days before the sack, a man of inferior condition, from the territory of Sienna, of mature age, with red hair, meagre and naked, yet strictly observant of decorum and religious rites, and named with equal singularity John Baptist (Giovanni Battista), predicted to the populace the certain ruin of the priests and the city, as well as the subsequent renovation of the church. With fearful vociferations he exclaimed, that the time of repentance was come ; and to the pontiff himself, without regard to his dignity, uttered, in the presence of many, the most injurious expressions, emphatically denouncing the certainty of his approaching fall.¹ The pope was witness, from the castle of St. Angelo, of the scene of desolation, and of the groans of his unhappy subjects. He surrendered to the Spaniards, and purchased by four hundred thousand ducats the privilege of being guarded in the same castle by Alarçon from the insults of the German Lutherans. All the riches accumulated in the churches and monasteries, the palaces, and banks, were sought after and seized upon. Never army made a booty so

¹ Sacco di Roma, p. 162.

A.D. 1527. immense. They divided the treasures around them with as much tranquillity as though all the forces of the league had been annihilated, though encamped at no great distance—so deep was their contempt for an enemy that, with such means for conquest, had shewn so strange a negligence. The loss of their general alone disturbed their satisfaction: they had idolised him living; they bestowed on his remains every imaginable honour. His body was deposited in a church—the only one, possibly, that was regarded with respect—in the midst of banners and trophies, and surrounded by a numerous guard; and every day a crowd of soldiers came with flowers and tears to decorate the bier. Finally, when the army was compelled by contagion and the approach of Lautrec to abandon its conquest, they bore with them the body in great pomp to the castle of Gaeta, where a little chapel was raised to receive it, and a tomb erected, bearing a Latin epitaph, to the following effect:—

“ The empire strengthened, Italy dismayed,
And France o’erthrown,
The pope besieged, and Rome a captive made,
Here rests Bourbon ! ”

These cares and this devotion, so genuine and profound, had their source in the eminent qualities which the duke possessed. His pure and simple manners, his equity, integrity, and the almost paternal care which he took of his servitors and vassals, rendered him the idol of his people in the Bourbonnois, La Forêt, and Auvergne. His pursuits, whatever they might be, of business, glory, or ambition, were never interrupted, either by the love of gallantry, so prevalent at that period, or by false and guilty pleasures. With a dignified and handsome presence, an object of admiration to the noblest ladies of the court, and wedded to a princess, small,

ill-proportioned, and wholly unattractive, he yet maintained to her that perfect fidelity, which, though but a plain and unobtrusive duty that calls in general for no commendation, may derive merit in him from the flattering attractions with which he was surrounded. On the other hand, his invincible courage, his constancy and penetration, his military science and power of governing the spirits of the multitude, completed the influence which his other qualities excited; so that, if he had survived the conquest of Rome, to the sovereignty of which he is said to have aspired, as he was but thirty-eight when his career was closed, there is no conjecturing what his daring genius might not have led him to accomplish in that beautiful but unfortunate country, the scene of a thousand battles, yet deriving union and authority from none. His memory is certainly sullied by the part he took against his native country; and mankind, according to the extent of their sympathy with the rights and dignity of sovereigns, will condemn him as a foe to patriotism, or brand him as a traitor; but impartial Justice, before she pronounces on his apathy as the one, or his criminality as the other, will weigh, with scrupulous exactness, the wrongs and provocations that urged him alike to his expatriation and hostility.

Whilst the emperor testified his deep regret at the loss of a general who had rendered him such essential services, by providing honourably for his friends and dependants, Francis and his court gave free expression to their joy; and the populace, little partial to him since he had become the scourge of France, sped to his hotel near the Louvre, and smeared the door with yellow paint, in token of his having died a traitor to his country. These harmless sallies of the crowd were rather unworthily, and to more effect, imitated

A.D. 1527. by the king. He had restrained the last mark of his resentment, so long as the duke was an object of apprehension to him; but he now instructed his parliament to conclude the process against him, as though he had been still living. Judgment was accordingly pronounced against the deceased prince, in presence of the nobility and of the great officers of the crown: he was deprived of his high title; his estates were confiscated; one portion was reclaimed to the crown, and another gratified the appetite of Louise of Savoy. But the nation at large, which participated not in the hatred manifested by the people in the precincts of the court, saw with unqualified indignation the odious Du Pradt receive the fruit of his unprincipled manœuvres, in the rich baronies of Thouars and Thori-sur-l'Allier, which he had so long coveted. This *dénoûment* of the plot resembles that in many a tragedy. The conspiring actors in the drama were at last successful; but their prize was purchased at a bitter cost.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ESCAPE OF POPE CLEMENT, TO THE DEATH OF
KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

A.D. 1527—1547.

Sir John Russell sent on a third mission, Dec. 10, 1527... His variance with Sir Thomas Cheney, 1528... Letter to and interview with Wolsey on his disgrace, 1529... Rise of Thomas Cromwell... Sir John is admitted to the Privy-Council, and made Comptroller of the Household, 1532... Vindicated from his alleged share in the spoliation of the Monasteries, 1534... His suit for the Abbot of Peterborough... Courteous treatment of Queen Anne Boleyn, 1536... Is sent against the Lincolnshire insurgents, Oct. 9... Illness of Queen Jane Seymour, Oct. 24, 1537... Fall of Cromwell... Sir John is made a Baron of the Realm... Constituted Lord High Admiral and President of the Council in the West, 1541; and Lord Privy Seal, 1543... He lays siege to Montreuil, 1544; and is sent to visit the havens in the West, 1545... Treaty for the restitution of Boulogne, 1546... Death of King Henry VIII. 1547.

WHEN Sir John Russell parted from the Court of Rome, A.D. 1527. he left behind him, in the minds of the Italians, equal estimation and regret. The excellent Bishop of Verona characterised him to Wolsey "as a man of so much probity and virtue, and of such good feeling in the public cause, as could scarcely be expressed."¹ Hence, in the winter of the same year, when Clement had made his escape to Orvieto,—a flight purchased of the Imperialists at a high price, which the "scrupulous" pontiff purposed to raise by the creation of other cardinals who could pay for their promotion, and

¹ Episc. Veron. Litt. ad Card. Wols. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 102 b.

A.D. 1528. when it was Wolsey's object to induce the pope, smarting from his late abandonment of the emperor, yet secretly inclined, if he could do it with impunity, to espouse again the cause of the Confederates, a measure which, it was ascertained, would be effected, if the skilful Lautrec would advance his army from Bologna,—Sir John was sent to the French general with letters of high compliment. In Wolsey's letter of credence, his object is described to be, to visit him, stay near him, and be present at the settlement of the various arrangements more fully expressed in the king's letters.¹ Farther particulars of his mission have not transpired; but Lautrec, who had principally in view the reclaiming of the hostage princes, proceeded beyond Rome to Naples, and laid siege to that city: the naval battle of Salerno followed, so adverse to the emperor by the death or capture of his ablest generals; and before the siege of Naples was terminated, Lautrec died.

When Sir John returned to England in 1528, he had the pleasure of embracing a son to which his lady had given birth, to whom he gave the name of Francis.

But Wolsey had been influenced by a second and much more powerful consideration, in endeavouring to induce Lautrec to give Clement the support and countenance of his strong army. The king's divorce was in agitation; and the cardinal, finding not only that his urgent reasonings were insufficient to divert Henry from his new passion, but that disaffection was fomented against him at court, both by Anne Boleyn and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, saw no safety to himself but in ceasing all opposition to the suit, and forwarding the divorce with a promptitude that might

¹ Wolsey to Lautrec. Vitellius, B. ix. fol. 201.

cancel the remembrance of his first counsels. He therefore A.D. 1528. instructed Sir Gregory Casalis to employ every persuasion with the pope for the dissolution of the marriage with Queen Catharine. But the delays in this respect were not to be removed; Wolsey saw his influence rapidly declining, and every circumstance that could weaken it, still more industriously improved against him. This the following incident rather curiously illustrates.

The Lady Anne Russell had by her first husband two daughters and a son. The daughters being minors, were under Wolsey's guardianship, by virtue of one of the high offices he held. That his lady might have the solace of their society, Sir John sought to purchase the wardship of the younger from the cardinal,¹—a measure which Sir Thomas Cheney, in pursuance of his own conjoint interests, violently opposed.² The cardinal appears finally to have granted Russell's request, so much to the annoyance of Sir Thomas, that he was loud in his complaints of the entire proceedings. Some injurious conduct to Sir John, into which he was betrayed, awoke the anger of the king, who for awhile excluded Cheney from the privy-chamber. The cardinal's enemies, and especially Anne Boleyn, whose influence with the king Sir Thomas had solicited, eagerly espoused his quarrel. Hence there were efforts both to procure and avert the knight's recal, and the cause became important, inasmuch as it was made a trial of strength between Henry's rising and declining favourites. As every struggle of this kind might be fraught with more or less of evil to himself, Wolsey was anxious to know at every turn the state and process of

¹ Letter from Russell to Wolsey, in the Chapter House.

² Sir Thomas Cheney afterwards married the elder daughter.

A.D. 1528. the strife. The following account from court was accordingly sent to him by one of his adherents there.

RICHARD PAGE TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

And it like your grace, I have done my best to come to the knowledge what answer the king's grace did make unto them that sued unto his highness for Mr. Cheney; and I am surely ascertained that his grace answered, that he was proud and full of opprobrious words, little esteeming his friends that did much for him, and did the best he could to put them to dishonesty that were most glad to do him pleasure, and in such wise handled himself, that he should never come into his chamber, until he had humbled himself and confessed his fault, and agreed with Mr. Russell for they two being at variance.

His grace knoweth, that there is in his chamber that loveth both parties, in such wise, that if he were there again without agreement between them, there might be much grudge amongst the gentlemen of his chamber, which his grace will none of; with many other sore words against Mr. Cheney, as I can learn. Howbeit, after all this, at the desire of them that sued for him, his grace was content that he should come before his council, they to hear what his suit is, and so to make report to his grace of his demeanour and submission, if any were, but not to come yet in his presence. I do hear, that some of his friends have sent privily for him to be here this day; but I cannot ascertain your grace the truth thereof.

Pleaseth it your grace, some of those that sue for Mr. Cheney have said, that they moved the king for him, in like wise, touching the age of young Mrs. Broughton, and shewed his grace that they heard she was of full age at the death of her brother, so that he had none interest unto her. And his grace's answer was, that as yet he knoweth none other truth of that, but by her mother's report; and as in that, his law should try whether she was his ward or not. This is, and it like your grace, the effect of all that I can learn of this matter at this time; and, as far as I can perceive, Mr. Cheney hath little other comfort than this as yet at the

king's hands; notwithstanding, there is such that make such suit A.D. 1528. for him as they can: beseeching our Lord long to preserve your grace.

By your most humble and most bounden servant,

RICHD. PAGE.¹

To my Lord Cardinal's Grace.

From a letter of the French ambassador to his court, we learn that the result was considered a disparagement to Wolsey. "Mr. Cheney," he says, "for having offended the cardinal, was put out of the court. The Demoiselle has brought him back to it, whether the other would or not, and with some rude expressions;" adding, "that the Duke of Norfolk and his set begin already to talk big." In October, the Cardinal Campeggio arrived in England, to determine the king's case, with secret instructions to delay the cause as much as possible. Notwithstanding, therefore, Wolsey's anxious efforts, it was not till the 28th of May, in the following year, that the judicial court was solemnly opened. The queen's pathetic appeal at the feet of Henry throws a painful charm over the disputations that succeeded. In the course of them, Wolsey had to bear frequent reproaches from his master; and when Campeggio deferred the adjudication till October, so successful were the insinuations of his enemies in criminating Wolsey as the cause, that we find him, in July, in some disgrace, absenting himself from court, and Sir John Russell thus writing, to console him:—

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Pleaseth it your grace that I have received your letter, whereby I perceive that your grace is good lord unto me, which is great comfort and rejoicing to me. I can recompense your grace with

¹ Wolsey Papers, in the Chapter House, vol. ix. p. 169.

A.D. 1529. nothing but my poor heart and service, which is at your commandment, and shall be while I live. The king is merry, thanked be God; and I am sure that his grace would that your grace were so likewise. Your grace must comfort yourself, and be of good cheer, assuring your grace that the king is well appeased and satisfied in his mind, as I well perceive when he speaks of you. And doubt you not that you shall have him as good to your grace as ever he was in his life; for his grace is a prince of so many good qualities and of so good remembrance, that he will remember the great service and pains that your grace has taken for him, and also the great familiarity that has been by time gone. Wherefore your grace may be of good comfort, and take the matter well, for you shall have none other cause. Sometimes the father and son be in displeasure, and brother, by evil reports, as may fortune has been now between your grace and the king.

Methinketh it should be well done that your grace would find the means to come more unto the king, that your grace mote speak with him, which should be greatly to your both contentations. I beseech your grace to pardon me, that I did not write an answer of the letter that your grace sent me; the cause was, that I was advertised in haste, that my son Broughton's household that is at Tuddington was evil ordered, as of a surety I find it, as I shall shew your grace at my next coming; and thus Jesu preserve your grace. At Ampthill, the 26th day of July, 1529.

Your humble Servant,

J. RUSSELL.¹

If this judicious counsel were followed, it was rendered fruitless by the events that instantly succeeded. Instead of issuing in a judgment, the cause was revoked to Rome. The queen, removed from court, took up her melancholy residence at Ampthill Castle. Henry sought to divert his splenetic indignation by a progress, in which he was accom-

¹ Wolsey Papers, vol. x. p. 31.

panied by Anne Boleyn; and when the cardinal waited on him at Grafton in Northamptonshire, with the papal commissioner now about to return to Rome, he found that no apartments were provided for him there. When admitted to the royal presence, he entered into a long and subtle, but an unsuccessful, defence against the accusations brought against him. He just saw Henry in the morning, as he was going with his company to hunt, but it was only to receive a hasty salutation; the favourite who had supplanted him, jealous of his every interview, had the address to engage Henry in his sylvan sports until the cardinals were gone; and this was the final parting of King Henry the Eighth and his celebrated minister. A.D. 1529.

On the 17th of October he received a summons from the king to surrender the great seal, and to retire to his house at Esher in Surrey. Two days after, his dismissal from all his offices was publicly announced; and so deeply had his reverse of favour already preyed upon his mind, that when visited by Bellay, the French ambassador, his face was shrunk to half its usual size; he bewailed his case with a grief more eloquent than words; his heart and speech both failed him, and his eyes shed tears in such profusion, that even his enemies could not but compassionate him. The king was moved at the recital, and sent first Sir Henry Norris to him, with the soothing present of a ring of gold. He sent to him a second message of comfort on the 1st of November by Sir John Russell, who preserved to him, in the depth of his adversity, the same steady attachment which he had professed in his prosperity. We cannot do better than give the particulars of this visit in the language of Cavendish, his gentleman.

“ After that my lord had supped that night, and all men

A.D. 1529. were gone to bed (being Allhallows day), it chanced so about midnight, that one of the porters came unto my chamber-door, and there knocked, and waking me, I perceived who it was, (and) asked him, 'what he would have at that time of the night?' 'Sir,' quoth the porter, 'there is a great number of horsemen at the gate that would come in, saying to me, that it is Sir John Russell, and so it appears to me by his voice; what is your pleasure that I should do?' 'Marry,' quoth I, 'go down again, and make a great fire in your lodge against I come, to dry them;' for it rained all that night the sorest that it did all that year before. Then I rose, and put on my night-gown, and came to the gates, and asked who was there. With that Master Russell spake, whom I knew by his voice, and then I caused the porter to open the gates and let them all in, who were wet to the skin, desiring Mr. Russell to go into the lodge to the fire; and he shewed me that he was come from the king unto my lord in message, with whom he required me to speak. 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I trust your news be good?' 'Yea, I promise you, on my fidelity,' quoth he; 'and so I pray you, shew him, I have brought him such news that will please him right well.' 'Then I will go,' quoth I, 'and wake him, and cause him to rise.' I went, incontinent, to my lord's chamber door, and waked my lord, who asked me 'what I would have?' 'Sir,' said I, 'to shew you that Sir John Russell is come from the king, who is desirous to speak with you;' and then he called up one of his grooms to let me in; and being within, I told him 'what a journey Sir John Russell had that night.' 'I pray God,' quoth he, 'all be for the best.' 'Yes, sir,' quoth I, 'he shewed me, and so bade me tell you, such news as ye would greatly rejoice thereat.' 'Well, then,' quoth he, 'God be praised, and welcome be

his grace! Go ye and fetch him unto me, and by that A.D. 1529.
time I will be ready to talk with him.'

"Then I returned from him to the lodge, and brought Master Russell from thence to my lord, who had cast on his night-gown. And when Master Russell was come into his presence, he most humbly revered him upon his knee, (to) whom my lord bowed down, and took him up and bade him welcome. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'the king commendeth him unto you,' and delivered him a great ring of gold, with a turquoise, for a token; 'and willeth you to be of good cheer, who loveth you as well as ever he did, and is not a little disquieted for your troubles, whose mind is full of your remembrance. Insomuch as his grace, before he sat to supper, called me unto him, and commanded me to take this journey secretly to visit you, to your comfort, the best of my power. And, sir, if it please your grace, I have had this night the sorest journey, for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembrance.'

"My lord thanked him for his pains and good news, and demanded of him if he had supped; and he said 'Nay!' 'Well, then,' quoth my lord to me, 'cause the cooks to provide some meat for him; and cause a chamber with a good fire to be made ready for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed.' All which commandment I fulfilled; and in the meantime my lord and Master Russell were in very secret communication; and in fine, Master Russell went to his chamber, taking his leave of my lord for all night, and said, 'he would not tarry but a while; for he would, God willing, be at the court at Greenwich again before day, for he would not, for any thing, that it were known his being with my lord that night.' And so being in his chamber, having a small repast, rested him awhile upon a bed, whilst his servants supped and dried

A.D. 1529. themselves by the fire; and then incontinent he rode away with speed to the court. And shortly after his being there, my lord was restored again unto plenty of household stuff, vessels, and plate, and of all things necessary some part, so that he was indifferently furnished, much better than he was of late."¹

Sir John's attentions and constancy to him were borne by the cardinal in grateful remembrance; for when deprived of the revenues of Winchester and St. Albans he made suit to the king, that he would be pleased to settle upon Russell out of them a fee of twenty pounds per annum, as a slight testimony of his regard, which was accordingly done by act of parliament for term of life.² Wolsey's impeachment for high treason in the parliament which met in November, was quashed by the able and spirited defence of Cromwell, his devoted servant; but it is thought, that even this might have proved insufficient for his acquittal, if Henry had not privately signified his pleasure that the charge should be abandoned. The council allotted Wolsey a thousand marks for the expenses of his journey, on his exile to York; but neither did the bitter visitation of adversity, nor the more exemplary course of Christian duties to which he sought to school his heart, and which sheds a pleasing lustre on his progress thither, wholly purge away the passions that had influenced him so long. He was detected in intrigues against the government with Rome and France; but the combined pressure of sorrow, apprehension, and bodily decay, freed him from the consequences of this step; and on the 19th of November, 1530, with that moral confession to Sir William Kingston, which can never be forgotten, the proud and powerful minister, who had filled all

¹ Cavendish's "Life of Wolsey," edited by Singer. p. 270-3.

² Id. p. 471. Wolsey to Gardiner. Rot. Parl. 188. stat. 22 Hen. VIII., c. 22.

Europe with the fame of his fortune and dominion, closed, A.D. 1529. at Leicester Abbey, his active, ambitious, and so long prosperous career.

Thomas Cromwell rose to favour and power on the ruins of his master, who, from the period of his first introduction, had gradually extended to him his entire confidence and regard, as the steward of his benefices and estates. Some have been inclined to think that his elevation at court was secured by treachery to Wolsey; but it is impossible that he could have influenced the original causes of that minister's disgrace; and the zeal of his defence, when it was absolutely prejudicial to his own interests, must, we think, vindicate him from any suspicion of the kind up to that time. On the morning of the day, indeed, on which Sir John arrived at Esher, Cromwell was observed by Cavendish leaning in the great window there, saying his matins to the Virgin, and shedding, as he prayed, his tears in great profusion, on the prospect of losing all the fruits of his so diligent service; while, on the same afternoon, he expressed his resolution to ride to the court, and make or mar his fortunes, ere he should return. But no additional disfavour to his master followed this adventurous journey; on the contrary, a portion of his sumptuous furniture was shortly restored to him. The sole object of Cromwell's visit to court appears to have been to serve himself, without prejudicing the cause of the declining cardinal.¹ From a letter addressed to him by Sir John

¹ It is obvious from Fox, that Cromwell was entirely indebted to the friendship of Sir John Russell, for the first rays of royal favour which he enjoyed. The account which he gives is this: that having been employed by Wolsey to suppress several priories for the building of his college of Christchurch, Cromwell was greatly defamed to the king for his "rude manner and homely dealing" in that affair, so that Henry even "began to detest the mention of him;"—that, upon one of these occasions, when the courtiers were

A.D. 1532. Russell, desiring to know in what form the king should write to Wolsey for his signature and seal to a patent of annuity for the lord chamberlain, we learn that so early as the 1st of June, 1529, the monarch was struck with Cromwell's sagacity and talent. "After your departure from the king," he says, "his grace had very good commendation of you, which I shall advertise you at our next meeting."¹ Thus, when his wishes were announced, Cromwell had no difficulty in obtaining an audience of Henry. He was admitted into the presence chamber, and imparted his bold expedient for obviating the difficulty of Clement's opposition to the divorce, by the king's summarily taking the authority into his own hands, and declaring himself head of the church in his own realms. The project gratified at once the monarch's love and pride of power: he reflected much on the alternative; and giving it easy entertainment, began to think the talents of the shrewd projector necessary for its success.

In 1531 Cromwell, being accordingly knighted, sworn of the privy council, and appointed master of the jewel-house, extorted from the clergy a virtual acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. In the same year, annates to the Roman see were by parliament abolished. His influence

reviling him, Sir John, "not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratitude willing again to requite that he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal, how by his singular device and policy he had done for him great service at Bonony, being there on the king's affairs, in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was, he thought, in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, which could say or do more in that matter than could Thomas Cromwell, and partly gave the king to understand wherein."—*Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 241.

¹ Cromwell Papers, in Chapter House, Westminster. Letters, bundle R.

at court was now unquestioned; and it is worthy of remark, A.D. 1533. that his earliest patron, Sir John Russell's honours, kept pace with his own preferment. In 1532 Sir John was of the splendid retinue that attended Henry to Calais and Boulogne, on his second interview with Francis; at which time, after sharing in the festivities which the latter monarch gave in honour of Anne Boleyn, now created Marchioness of Pembroke, he was admitted of the privy council, and appointed comptroller of the household: "and in this office," says Lloyd, "he managed his master's expenses thriftily, reduced his family discreetly, reformed his followers effectually, and filled up his place with the awe of his presence and the influence of his authority—so that he was at once its support and glory."¹

In the following year Henry ventured on his quarrel with the papal see, by directing his divorce to be pronounced in England, and by marrying, privately in November, and publicly in April, the object of his admiration. Her coronation on the 1st of June was accomplished with every gorgeous token that the royal fancy could devise; and her assumption of her new dignity is thus glanced at in a letter to Lord Lisle, at that time governor of Calais.

COMPTROLLER RUSSELL TO ARTHUR, VISCOUNT LISLE.

Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, I heartily recommend me unto your lordship. My lord, I presented the king with the cherries in my lady's name, which he is very glad of, and thanks you and her both for them. Also I delivered your letter to the king, in presence of Mr. Secretary, the which Mr. Secretary was caused immediately to read it to the king's highness; and he said he would do any thing for your lordship that he could with the king; wherefore I do think that you are much bound unto him: what effect, my lord, your letter shall

¹ State Worthies, as before.

A.D: 1533. be of, as yet I cannot ascertain your lordship, but I shall be solicitor in it. As upon Friday last, the queen set a board as queen, and was served with her own servants, and they were sworn that same day; and the king and the queen came in his great boat to Greenwich with his privy chamber, and her ladies in the great barge. I do ensure you, my lord, she is as *gentille* a lady as ever I knew, and as fair a queen as any in Christendom. The king hath come out of hell into heaven, for the gentleness of this, and the crossedness and the unhappiness of the other. Whereas, my lord, methinks it were very well done, when you do write to the king, that you do rejoice that he is so well matched with so gracious a woman as she is, and you hear reported by her; and wherein you shall content his grace in so doing. My lord, I thank you for the present that you sent me; and if there be any good or pleasure that I may do you here, you may command me as your own assuredly. As knoweth our Lord, who keep you. From Greenwich, this Whitsun-even.

Your own to command,

J. RUSSELL.¹

The anger and indignation which the pope had long cherished against Henry were consummated by this decisive step; and on the 23d of March, 1534, he issued that impetuous sentence which dissolved the last bond of civility

¹ Wolsey Papers, vol. vii. p. 38. The following application for a dish for the queen's table was probably written in the year ensuing.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Right Honourable and my singular good lord, I heartily recommend me unto you. My lord the king commanded me to write to you for some fat quails; for the queen is very desirous to eat some, but here be none to be gotten. Wherefore, my lord, I pray you in any wise that you will send some, with as much speed as may be possible; but they must be *very fat*. My lord, I pray you think no unkindness in me that I have not written to you of a long time; for I am as much your friend as ever I was, to the uttermost of my power, as knoweth our Lord, who keep you. At Hampton Court, the 19th day of May; and I pray you give credence to this bearer.

Your own assured,

J. RUSSELL.²

² Wolsey Papers, vol. vii. p. 29.

and intercourse between them. The irritation produced by his denunciation in England was extreme; and when the parliament met in November, the celebrated act was passed which abrogated for ever the pope's supremacy in England, and conferred on the king, with the title of the only supreme head of the English church, the power to visit and repress, to reform, and to correct all errors and abuses, enormities, and heresies, that fell under a spiritual jurisdiction. A.D. 1531.

A visitation of the greater abbeys was accordingly resolved upon. Of all the various measures thus resorted to for emancipating the nation from its connexion with the Roman See, and giving to the frame of ecclesiastical polity in England a form adapted to the new demands and functions of the monarchy, Cromwell, now made principal secretary of state, was the chief, or rather the sole, counsellor and agent.¹

From the indisputable certainty of this fact, none but the ignorant or inconsiderate can be imposed upon by that intemperate invective of Burke, which, passing every limit of truth and fair retaliation, for the sake of heaping obloquy on the head of his descendant, would represent Sir John Russell as deeply implicated in the spoliation of the monasteries.² Nothing can be more unfounded than such a repre-

¹ "Secretary Cromwell had the great stroke in all this. All these counsels and methods were struck out of his head; for which, as he received the curse, and drew upon himself the hatred of many, so many more, well affected to a reformation of superstitions in the church, extolled him highly."—*Strype*, vol. vi. p. 205.

² "The merit of the original grantee of his grace's pensions was in giving his hand to the work, and partaking the spoil with a prince who plundered a part of the national church of his time and country;" "of being a prompt and greedy instrument of a levelling tyrant;" "and by instigating that tyrant to injustice, to provoke a people to rebellion."—*Letter to a Noble Lord*.

The whole philippic bears on its inflamed face such obvious tokens of exaggeration and distortion, that its misrepresentations might safely have

A.D. 1534. sentation. The writer who peruses the frightful accounts unfolded during this visitation, of the vices practised in those cloisters of corruption,—vices which, stripped of every exaggeration that may have been given to them by the passions or interests of the visitors, cannot be even thought of without execration and horror,—who looks abroad on the effects of monachism in our own day, and considers that the same part which the friars in Spain have taken to incite the uninstructed populace to rebellion against the kindling light of knowledge and improvement, were exactly similar to that which the monks of this earlier period essayed in England, under their instructed puppet, the Nun of Kent,—and who reflects that what Spain continues to be, England also would have been, but for the downfall of that system of mingled idleness, superstition, profligacy, and craft,—would rejoice if he could justly represent his personage as a participant in this great measure. Inasmuch as Sir John Russell was of the privy council at the time of Cromwell's appointment as visitor-general of abbeys, he may possibly be said to have had a share in their suppression. But the privy councils of those days, when the monarch's prerogatives were much less checked than at present by salutary restrictions, varied materially in the range of their subjects of discussion from those of our times; and the headstrong self-determination of the sovereign took from his council a proportionate share of their responsibility. All that the privy council of 1534 were probably required to notice was the appointment of Cromwell to the above-named office. That being concluded,

been passed over in silence, had not one Prior, a late biographer of Burke, revived the whole of the charges, on the plea, that though “reported to be erroneous, no formal contradiction has been made.” It is right, therefore, that this last prop of false and injurious aspersion should be removed.

the mode in which the trust was executed, the appointment, A.D. 1534. the direction of, and the instructions issued to, the subordinate officers of the visitation, rested wholly with the latter. Hence, in every after-question connected with the monasteries, we find Cromwell alone appealed to, his clemency obtested, and his influence solicited, whether for evil or for good. If the council had been even secondary agents in the war now waging with the monks, we should scarcely find Sir John Russell, the privy counsellor, interposing his good offices with Cromwell on behalf of the submissive abbey of Peterborough. It is curious to observe how boldly Burke accuses Sir John Russell of this spoliation, in the total absence of one historic fact, beyond his subsequent enjoyment of monastic lands, and the circumstance (which he knew not) of his presiding at the execution of the Abbot of Glastonbury, who had been found guilty at Wells of embezzling the conventual plate, "by as worshipful a jury as had been charged there for many years." But the singularity of the case becomes yet more striking, from the fact that the sole existing trace of the part which Russell actually took, is his *protection* of the only abbey that was completely spared, that, namely, of Peterborough, which was converted to a bishopric, and its revenues appropriated to the endowment. The subject, therefore, may be dismissed with the following letter, which represents the writer as just recovering from a severe illness.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

Right Hon. and my singular good Lord,

I heartily commend me unto your good lordship, and very glad I would be to hear from you, since from debility I cannot yet visit and see your lordship in person, which I trust to do shortly; for, thanks be to God! I am now clear rid of mine ague, and also of

A.D. 1534, the pain which held me in mine head, so that I feel no disease (but increase of health daily) except weakness; and that I cannot sleep in the night but seldom, and then but little, not past half an hour, or an hour at the most; and now I trust, God willing, to wait upon you shortly. Most heartily beseeching your lordship to be good to a special friend of mine, who is the *Abbot of Peterborough*, unto whom I ensure you I am very much bound, for there is a bruit made by Dr. (Lee) and his men, that his house shall go down before Michaelmas; and in my opinion, it is evil done that any such bruits should be made; for they shall and will come to the king daily, without any such forcing. And as for the said abbot, whatsoever the king shall command him, he will be as ready and obedient as any man of his coat in England. And as for the goods, I warrant you he keepeth them as surely, without embezzling, as though he had them by indenture. Beseeching your lordship, that you will give him some comfort, either to himself or by me, that he may be the more at quiet, wherein your lordship shall do me a very great pleasure, as knoweth our Lord, who preserve your good lordship. At Chenies, the 27th day of August.

Your assured, to command,

J. RUSSELL.¹

To the Right Hon. my very good Lord,
my Lord Privy Seal, deliver these.

On the 5th of January, 1536, after addressing to the king a letter breathing the tenderest sentiments of affection and forgiveness, which moved him even to tears, Queen Katharine of Arragon expired at Kimbolton; and Sir John Russell, as comptroller, was sent thither to direct all such arrangements for her burial as became a person of her rank; when the body, after being embowelled, cered, and lapped in lead, was deposited in a chest, and with an honourable attendance of noble personages, interred at Peterborough Abbey, with all the solemn offices prescribed by the Catholic church. The summer of the same year witnessed — O light regard of

¹ Cromwell Papers, in the Chapter House. Letters, Bundle R.

human faith!—the execution of Anne Boleyn, innocent in A.D. 1534. all but her consenting to occupy a station forcibly obtained from a more rightful possessor, and in that inconsiderate gaiety of manners, which it was her misfortune, rather than her fault, to have derived from early education.¹ Sir John's native gentleness of heart, and conviction of her innocence, led him to treat her, on her examination by the privy council, with a respect and courtesy that formed a striking contrast with the rude behaviour of some others. She complained to Sir William Kingston of "having been cruelly handled," especially by the Duke of Norfolk; "but named Mr. Comptroller to be a very gentleman."²

Her last hours were marked by a heroism the more strongly entitled to our respect and admiration, as it was founded, next to a consciousness of innocence, on the support and consolations of personal religion; and her death was contemplated by all but the fixed adherents to the ancient

¹ Sir John Russell, in one of his letters extant, briefly but significantly alludes to her arraignment.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO ARTHUR, VISCOUNT LISLE.

Right Hon. and my singular good Lord,

In my most hearty manner I commend me unto your good lordship, desiring you to be good lord unto this poor man, who hath been sore vexed and troubled, to his utter undoing, unless your lordship be so good lord unto him, at this my request, as that he may be under your retinue, as a victualler in the town: wherein your lordship in doing shall do a meritorious deed, and bind me to be yours assuredly to command, to the best of my little power. My lord, news I have none to write you; but as this day Mr. Norris, with such other as you know, are cast, and the queen shall go to the judgment on Monday next. I have delivered the king your letters, marvelling that your lordship wrote not to me of your command, that I might have been solicitor unto the king's highness therein. Notwithstanding, I shall be glad to do the best for your lordship that shall be in my power, as knoweth our Lord, who preserve your lordship to his pleasure. From Westminster, the 12th of May.

Your own, to my power,

J. RUSSELL.

² Kingston to Cromwell. Cavendish's Wolsey, p. 456.

A.D. 1536. superstition, and those who then believed her guilty, with the warmest pity.¹ It is recorded, that the touching beauty of her eyes upon the scaffold fixed a spell upon the arm of the executioner, and it was not till he devised the means of withdrawing from himself the charm of their expression, that he was able to discharge the fatal blow.

Her death revived the hopes and machinations of the monks and friars who had been either expelled from, or pensioned off their convents. Combining with many of the discontented clergy, they fomented two formidable insurrections in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. By the Duke of Norfolk the latter was suppressed ; and Sir John Russell, with Sir Francis Bryant and Parr, afterwards Marquess of Northampton, were despatched to quell the former. This was headed by Mackerel, the prior of Barlings ; and being countenanced by the Lord Hussey, and a few other gentlemen, the tumultuary army soon amounted to twenty thousand men. The commissioners marched against them, and possessed themselves of Stamford ; whence the following letter was despatched :—

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO HENRY VIII.

Pleaseth it your highness to be advertised, that this day we have not only viewed the town here, and every place of the wall, but also have spoken with the most discreet and substantial persons of the same, to the intent to know the certainty of the stability of your commons' hearts : who in case we had tarried any longer, it doth appear that they, with much more of this country hereabouts, which is now no doubt your grace's faithful subjects, would have confederate themselves with the traitors. Insomuch that this day there is gone forth of your town of Boston, and other places about the same, with one of your own servants, the number of a hundred persons, against whom we have made go forth a certain number of

¹ Wolsey Papers, vol. vii. p. 35.

our company to apprehend them, or else to take all such goods as there be left to be preserved from the offenders. And as for this town, the wall is very weak; albeit, if I had any ordnance, God willing, the same should be defended, what assault soever were made by their guns; for the keeping of the same is the most part of the comfort that your grace's subjects have hereabout. The bridge, the inhabitants will not, with their good will, permit to be broken up; for this day we communed with them there, who withstood our poor opinions right earnestly: howbeit, as safety shall require us hereafter, we shall do herewith. And within two miles above the bridge is divers fords; at which places some policy shall be practised for the hinderance and annoyance of the offenders, and preservation of your grace's faithful subjects, whom in our most humble and lowly manner, it may please your gracious goodness to (supply) their need of harness, (and direct) that speed may not only be made therein, but also with artillery and money for their relief; and that plenty of ordnance may be sent down, which is the thing that we all most fear, and which must put the offenders in despair and dread. As the Holy Trinity know, who ever have our most gracious sovereign Lord in his blessed governance. Written at Stamford, the 9th day of October, by

Your most lowly servants,

J. RUSSELL,

WM. PARR.¹

The military dispositions of Russell, although his progress at first did not correspond with Henry's expectations, struck awe into the insurgents; and the king's first answer being tempered by a milder proclamation, the commotion was effectually quieted. The Lord Hussey, Mackerel, and a few other of the leaders, being executed, the populace dispersed; and the discontented abbots and priors who had joined the insurgents, fled into Yorkshire, where several of them were afterwards taken in arms, and capitally punished, in front of their own monasteries.

¹ Cromwell Papers. Letters, Bundle R.

A.D. 1537. In 1537 the nation was again visited by that formidable disease, the sweating sickness; and as the new queen, Jane Seymour, indulged hopes of giving to the crown a male successor, the intimation that a servant of Cromwell's had fallen sick excited her apprehensions. The following letter, which notices the circumstance, is curious, from the familiar style in which it speaks of the king, as a boon companion to his attendants in their sylvan sports. Whatever censure may be justly attached to Henry's arbitrary rule, especially after his acknowledged supremacy had armed him with intolerance, he had assuredly the art, by his hilarity and generosity, personally to attach affection, and even, as we learn from Strype, much of popular regard.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO CROMWELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL.

This is to advertise your lordship, that, after I had received your letter, immediately I went to the king's grace, who was then going to supper, and shewed his majesty of the misfortune which was happened to your lordship, by reason of the sickness of Bold, your servant. And his grace was very sorry for the same, and answered me that there was no danger in it, but that you might repair to the court within a day or two. And thereupon his grace talked with the queen, and opened to her your said misfortune; by whose countenance and fashion I did perceive that she was somewhat afraid of the matter: whereupon considering that her grace was with child, and the case that she is in, I went again to the king's majesty, saying, that I perceived that the queen was afraid of your said mischance, desiring his grace to know his further pleasure therein. And his majesty answered me, that it was true indeed that the queen was somewhat afraid of the matter, saying to me, that you might repair hitherward, and to be at Master Weston's house, Mr. Brown's house, my Lord Marquis's house, and at other good fellows, your friends' houses near hereabout, and to meet with his grace daily at hunting, and keep him company all day till night, and then to repair where you shall be lodged, till such time

as his grace and you shall perceive further in the matter. And to put away such as were most conversant with the said Bold, and to come with a convenient train, as you shall think good yourself, and eschewing of all danger. A.D. 1537.

Ensuring your lordship that his grace is very sorry that the chance happened so now, that you might not be here to make good cheer, as we all do; and the king, who useth himself more like a good fellow than like a king among us that be here; and, thanked be God! I never saw him merrier in his life than he is now; and sorry I am, and also other good fellows, your lords and friends, that you may not be here, praying you to repair as near as you can shortly, that some time we may have your company.

Sir, as touching Ralph Sadler, I made his excuse three days ago, shewing the king that he was a mourner for the lord of Northumberland, and also now that this chance hath mishappened him, of Bold's being in his house, wherefore he durst not repair to his majesty till his pleasure were further known. And also I shewed the king that he was as sorrowful a man as liveth, by reason that the said mischance had happened to him, whereby he might not do his bounden duty. The king, answering, said, that he perceived him to have been here after the burial of the said earl. I answered him again, that he was one of them that you put in trust concerning the burial of the said earl, and other things thereto appertaining; praying you that you will make his excuse accordingly to the king, either by writing, or at your lordship's coming, and he to absent himself from his house in the mean season. And thus I commit your lordship to Almighty God, who have you in his most blessed keeping! With my most humble recommendations to your good lordship, as he that is your own assuredly. At Guildford, the 11th day of July, at ten of the clock at night.

Your own to command, J. RUSSELL.¹

To my Right Hon. and my very good Lord,
my Lord Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, d.d.

His next communication of any public interest was written a few days after the birth of the prince, who had

¹ Cromwell Papers. Letters, Bundle R.

A.D. 1537. been so passionately desired, when the queen's illness was at its crisis.

SIR JOHN RUSSELL TO LORD CROMWELL.

Pleaseth your lordship to understand that I have received your letter, the which I shewed to the king, and he read it, and caused Mr. Neville to send for divers of the men, the which I think shall be here to-morrow. Sir, as yesterday Mr. Treasurer and I examined one of Mr. Neville's servants, who hath confessed to the number of twenty, and not one of them that was in the bill that the king had of you, so that I think by the time that this man be taken, you shall have a great number accused. Sir, the king was determined, as this day, to have removed to Esher, and because the queen is very sick this night and this day he tarried; but the morrow, God willing, he intendeth to be there. If she amend he will go, and if she amend not he will not. This day he could not find it in his heart to try; for, I ensure you, she hath been in great danger last night and this day: but, thanked be God! she is somewhat amended; and if she sleep this night, the physicians be in good hope that she is past all danger. And thus Jesus preserve your good lordship in long life and increase of honour. At Hampton Court, this 24th day of October, (1537).

Your own to command,

J. RUSSELL ¹

To the Right Hon. my singular good Lord,
my Lord Privy Seal, d.d.

So alarming had the symptoms been on the morning of that day, that the queen sent for her confessor, by whom the sacrament of unction was administered; and, notwithstanding the favourable appearances noticed by Sir John, before the close of day Henry was again a widower. The gift presented him by his departed queen could not for a while console him for this sharp and unexpected stroke; he shut himself up in his palace, and lamented her with bitter tears. But after

¹ Cromwell Papers, Bundle R.

a few months, the keenness of his grief was lost in the satisfaction arising from the prospect of a male successor to his crown; and he celebrated the event by raising to fresh honours several of his distinguished courtiers. In this dispensation of favour, the merits of Sir John Russell were no longer overlooked. He was advanced to the dignity of a peer, by the title of Baron Russell of Chenies, in the county of Bucks; and, to support the honour, the manor of Amer-sham, which had been forfeited to the crown by the attainder of Stafford, duke of Buckingham,¹ in 1521, was conferred on him by patent. Having been in his time an acknowledged judge of female beauty, his comparison of the last two unhappy queens may not be inappositely cited. Lord Herbert mentions, that he was accustomed to say, Jane Seymour was the more majestic, Anne Boleyn the more lovely; that Love threatened in the eyes of Queen Jane, but laughed in those of Anne; and that the latter looked the fairest when most plainly dressed, whilst the charms of the former shone out most irresistibly when set off by jewels and the splendour of embroidered dress. To both, how fatal proved their gift of beauty!

If Lord Russell's claims upon Henry's regard, when measured by the deserts and acquisitions of other gentlemen of the court, might seem to have been but slowly acknowledged, the rapid advancement which he henceforth made in dignity, attests a disposition on the monarch's part amply

¹ This casual circumstance could not escape the ingenuity of Burke. He connects it with "the murder of that innocent person of illustrious rank," *sixteen years before*, to insinuate a participation in the odium of the deed; in the true spirit of that accusation which is followed by so unanswerable a reply:

"Ante hos sex menses," ait, "maledixisti mihi:"
Respondit agnus, "*equidem natus non eram.*"

A.D. 1540. to compensate for the delay. On April 23d, 1539, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and in 1540 was made Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall, and enriched with the noble grant to himself, the Lady Anne his wife, and their lawful heirs, of the whole site and circuit of the dissolved Abbey of Tavistock, with many of the valuable manors and advowsons pertaining to it, and various parcels of the lands alienated from Donkeswell Priory and the Abbey of St. Alban's. The importance of these grants bespeaks in a peculiar manner the profound regard entertained for him by Cromwell, now created Earl of Essex, from whom originated the recommendations to most of those transfers of monastic property which took place at this time.¹ But it can scarcely be doubted that political interest, as well as personal affection and gratitude to his early patron, influenced Cromwell in making applications to Henry for these favours. The friendship, the credit, and the strong support of a man who stood so well with all parties at court as did Lord Russell, must have proved more than ever necessary to the minister after

¹ The success of Lord Russell's frequent entreaties for sparing the lands of Peterborough Abbey and providing for the abbot, is intimated to us in the following letter from him to Cromwell :

“ Right Hon. and my very good Lord,

Pleaseth your lordship to be advertised that I have received your letters, dated the 12th day of this present; and understand by the same your lordship's great goodness towards my friend, the Abbot of Peterborough, for whom I have been oft bold to write unto your good lordship, most heartily thanking your lordship for that and all other your goodness that I have found at your hands; even so, desiring you, my lord, long to continue in the same.

My lord, this shall be to ascertain you, that on Thursday, the 14th day of this present month, the Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church, on the Torre Hill, next unto the town of Glaston: the said abbot's body being divided in four parts, and head stricken off, whereof one quarter standeth at Wells, another at Bath, and at Ilchester and Bridgewater the rest, and his head upon the abbey gate at Glaston. And as concerning the

his agency in the sweeping reformation of the old religion, A.D. 1540. and the confiscation of its property had aroused against him, abroad the hostility of its numerous adherents, and in council the secret jealousy and resentment of Norfolk and Gardiner. The enmity of these two personages, however formidable, he might, by means of Lord Russell's influence and discretion, have either successfully combated, or skilfully averted; but the disgust which Henry himself took from the marriage negotiated with Anne of Cleves, working upon a spirit that was daily growing more irritable and despotic, could neither be surmounted by his policy, nor soothed by his submission. Of the personal grace of his destined bride, the king had been induced to entertain a high opinion, from the flattering portrait made by Holbein, and the strongly coloured but ill-judged representations of his German envoys. Eager to behold her, he hastened, with some of his privy-chamber, to Rochester to meet her; but perceiving instantly how little her appearance corresponded with the glowing descriptions he had received, "he

rape and burglary committed, those parties are all condemned, and four of them put to execution at the place of the act done, which is called the Weir, and there adjudged to hang still in chains, to the ensample of others. As for Capon, one of the said offenders condemned, (him) I have reprieved, according to your lordship's letters; of whom I shall further shew to you at my next repair unto the court. And here I do send your lordship enclosed the names of the inquest that passed on Whytyng, the said abbot, which, I ensure my lord, is as worshipful a jury as was charged here these many years. And there was never seen in these parts so great appearance as were here at this present time, and never better willing to serve the king. My lord, I ensure you there were many bills put up against the abbot by his tenants and others for wrongs and injuries that he had done them. And so I commit your lordship to the blessed Trinity. From Wells, the 16th day of November.

Your own to command,

J. RUSSELL."

¹ Cleopatra, E. iv. fol. 99 b.

A.D. 1540. was," to use Lord Russell's words, "marvellously astonished and abashed." The next day, as he was returning, he asked that lord's opinion of her. "How like you this woman?" said he. "Do you think her so fair and of such beauty as report hath been made unto me of her? I pray you tell me truth." Lord Russell, willing to abate his disappointment, answered, evasively, "that he took her not for fair, but to be of a brown complexion." "Alas!" exclaimed the troubled prince, "whom should men trust! I promise you I see no such thing in her as hath been shewed me: I am ashamed that men have so praised her as they have done, and I like her not!"¹ In the king's aversion to the marriage Cromwell read his own disgrace; and when Secretary Wriothesley declared to him that unless relief could be devised, they would all smart for it, he sadly and in great perplexity assented to the truth. The nobles who were inimical to Cromwell—the Bouchiers, the Howards, and, above all, the unforgiving Gardiner—industriously fanned the king's increasing discontent; but his attainder did not pass without demonstrations of reluctance and regret honourable to those by whom they were evinced. Whilst the favourers of the old religion, on the night of his committal, "banqueted and triumphed together, many, wishing that that day had been seven years before, and some, fearing that he should escape, although imprisoned, could not be merry; others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartily prayed for him;"² whilst the Commons refused to proceed upon the articles sent down to them, and returned them to the Lords with a much more moderate bill of their own. His enemies were not nice about the instrument of his destruction; though there was no article in the new bill

¹ Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. i. p. 310.

² Hollinshed, vol. iv. p. 951.

that amounted to treason, and though he himself, with a A.D. 1540. submissive meekness, solicited, and Cranmer and Russell, with a virtuous boldness, remonstrated for pardon, Henry was inflexible, and the earl's doom was sealed. The last scene of his extraordinary career is thus given by the anonymous portrayer of his fortunes :—

SCENE, *The Tower.*

Cromwell, his Son, and various Lords of the Council, &c.

Cromwell. Come on, my child, and see the end of all ;
And after say that Gardiner was my fall.

Gardiner. My lord, you speak it of an envious heart ;
I've done no more than law and equity.

Lord Russell. O, my good Lord of Winchester, forbear ;
It would have better seemed you to have been absent,
Than with your words disturb a dying man !

Cromwell. Who ? me, my lord ? No ; he disturbs not me :
My mind he stirs not, though his mighty shock
Hath brought more peers' heads down unto the block.
Farewell, my boy ! all Cromwell can bequeath—
My hearty blessing :—so I take my leave.

Executioner. I am your deathsman ; pray, my lord, forgive me !

Cromwell. E'en with my soul ! Why, man, thou art my
doctor,

And bring'st me precious physic for my soul.

My good Lord Russell, I desire of you

Before my death a corporal embrace.

Farewell, great lord ! my love I do commend

And heart to you ; my soul to heaven I send ;

This is my joy, that ere my body fleet,

Your honoured arms are my true winding-sheet

Russell. Farewell, then, Cromwell, sure the truest friend
That ever Russell shall again possess !

Well, lords, I fear that when this man is dead,

You'll wish in vain that Cromwell had a head !¹

¹ Life and Death of Thomas Cromwell.

A.D. 1541.

To the praise of this unfortunate statesman it has been observed, that he preferred more men of worth and integrity, whether lay or clergy, in his time, than any other in great place and favour at court had done.¹ Liberal he was, and grateful, never forgetting a benefit received, as appeared by his affection to Lord Russell and his generous courtesy to Frescobald the Florentine; a protector of the poor in all their suits, and of those who were in danger of being oppressed by opulent or powerful enemies. So careful also for his servants and his envoys, that, fearing for the adverse day that but too soon arrived, he provided well for the greater number of them, notwithstanding his disgrace. Although the monastic orders might reasonably complain of many acts of absolute oppression and injustice committed by his agents, to which he lent his countenance or sanction, he was naturally merciful and mild; and on them posterity may well look with indulgence, considering the invaluable benefits entailed on it by that reformation in which he acted so conspicuous a part.

The credit of Lord Russell was in no respect diminished by the fidelity with which he cherished the memory of his lamented friend. On the 28th of July, 1541, he was constituted Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland; and when, for the more prompt administration of justice, Henry resolved to establish a council for the four south-western counties, he appointed the Lord Russell for its president, "as knowing his approved truth, fidelity, wisdom, indifferency (impartiality), and experience in administering justice,"² with extensive powers, to the intent that nothing should pass but by his express commandment; whilst every

¹ Strype, vol. i. p. 364.

² Instructions; MS. Titus, B. i. fol. 161.

reverence was to be rendered to his person, kneeling alone A.D. 1544. excepted. All criminal as well as civil cases were placed under the jurisdiction of his council; and the regulation was prescribed (forming a curious contrast to the professional charges of modern times), that no attorney should take for his fee more than twelve pence, nor any counsellor more than twenty. A table of fees was to be fixed up in the various places where a court was held, and the poor who had no money were to have counsel gratuitously. Nor was this the only attention to the interests of the peasantry that claims observance. The commission was required to make inquisition of those who enclosed commons, or who took excessive rents; and to take measures in other respects that the poor were not oppressed. From which specification it may fairly be surmised, that some of those causes of dissatisfaction were already at work in the minds of the commonalty of those parts, which in the ensuing reign fermented into a dangerous rebellion. The president was especially desired to give dexterous charges to the people, in all places where any notable assembly was held for the observance of the royal ordinances, and particularly "such laws as were passed touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, whose abuses," the instrument quaintly proceeds to state, "they shall so beat into their heads by continual inculcation, as that they may smell and perceive the same; with such declaration as it may be perceived the same is done with the *heart*, and not with the *tongue* only, for a form. And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon for abrogation of such vain holydays, as being appointed only by the Bishops of Rome to make the world blind, and persuade the same that they

A.D. 1541. might also make saints at their pleasure, do give occasion, by idleness of their increase, of many vices and inconveniences." The assiduity with which Lord Russell applied himself to the duties of this new appointment, repressed for awhile all open shew of disaffection. Towards the end of autumn he was recalled, to take charge to Calais of a number of light horsemen from the Scottish borders, in consequence of a sudden military movement in Picardy, under the Duc de Vendôme. "The jealousy that led to such a demonstration being speedily removed, the admiral contented himself with setting order in the Calais marches, and returned during the winter; since we find in the State Paper Office the following letter, dated Dec. 22, to the lords in council, relative to the ladies who had been found guilty of misprision of treason in concealing the new queen's incontinency, and who were now in prison.

THE LORD ADMIRAL AND MR. SECRETARY SADLER TO THE
COUNCIL IN LONDON.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that the king's majesty, having heard the whole contents of your letters addressed unto us read unto his highness, and perceived by the same your whole proceeding this day, doth not only take the same in very good part, but also giveth you condign thanks therefore. And his majesty perceiving the great sorrow and repentance of the women,¹ with their sudden change, by mean of their imprisonment, albeit it seemeth to us that his majesty doth intend to shew his mercy and clemency unto them, yet his highness thinketh not meet that ye should so hastily put them in any such comfort, or so soon restore them to any liberty within the Tower, for sundry great respects and considerations; but rather thinketh it conve-

¹ They were Margaret, wife to the Lord William Howard; Anne, wife of Henry Howard, Esq., the queen's brother; and Catharine Tilney, Alice Restwold, Joan Bulmer, Malein Tilney, Margaret Bennet, gentlewomen.

nient that you, the lord privy seal, and Mr. Wriothesley, should A.D. 1542.
forbear your going to-morrow to the Tower, for any such purpose
as is specified in your said letters. And his majesty intending
to be to-morrow at night at Greenwich, will at your repair to his
highness, either to-morrow at night or on Saturday in the morning,
declare his gracious further pleasure to you in that behalf accord-
ingly. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your lordships. At
Bedington, the 22d of December, at eleven o'clock at night.

Your lordships' loving friends,

J. RUSSELL,

RAFE SADLEYR.

The execution of Catharine Howard was shortly followed
by the death of Arthur, Viscount Lisle, the natural son of
Edward IV., the cause of which, as he was one for whom
Lord Russell had a high regard, may be recounted here
from its affecting singularity.

He had had, as we have seen, for many years the im-
portant charge of the king's town of Calais. We learn,
from Sir John Russell's letters to him, that he devoted
himself with no common care to the faithful execution of
his trust: yet, some suspicion arising on the discovery of
a plot for the delivery of Calais to the French, that he
was privy to the treason, he was committed to the Tower,
where he lay many months in constant expectation of a
traitor's death. But the king at length being convinced
that he was wholly innocent of the imputed crime, sent
his secretary, Wriothesley, to him with a diamond ring,
and a message, entreating him to be of good cheer; "for
although," he said, "he would not have done less than so
imprison him, if he had been his own son;" yet, as his faith-
fulness was proved to be so clear, he was both sorry to have
had occasion to put him to so sore a proof, and was resolved

A.D. 1543. to make account of him as his true and trusty kinsman, to restore him to his liberty, and do him further pleasure. This message was delivered by Wriothesley with an eloquence and kindness so peculiarly touching, and the token that accompanied it was so wholly unexpected, that the heart of the reviving captive became overwhelmed with an emotion too vast for his control, and he died on the succeeding night, the victim of excessive joy.

On the 3d of December, 1543, the office of high admiral was transferred to Dudley, afterwards Earl of Northumberland, and Russell was made lord privy seal. War meanwhile was proclaimed with France, and a plan of operations arranged between the English and Spanish courts; which, if it had been followed up without regard to selfish interests, could not, in the estimation of the French chroniclers themselves, have failed of being successful. It was settled that the emperor should advance through Champagne upon the French capital, with all the forces he could muster; whilst Henry, at the head of thirty thousand English, and reinforced by the Count de Buren and ten thousand Germans, hastened through Picardy to the same point, neither party laying siege to any city on their way.

Henry's army was hastily equipped by the middle of July. The vanguard, conducted by the Duke of Norfolk, first crossed over to Calais, apparelled in blue coats guarded with red, with hose and caps of the same colour, and on the 15th of June encamped within the French pale; on which day the Lord Russell, to whose charge the rearward was committed, habited in the like singular apparel, was at Canterbury, actively engaged in completing its equipment, and in procuring and manning vessels for its passage. Early on the morning of the 17th he sailed for

Calais ; whence, being much disappointed at the obvious A.D. 1544. want of every thing necessary for a campaign, he on the 20th addressed letters to the council.¹

The Duke of Norfolk was no less earnest than Lord Russell in pressing for similar supplies, painting in strong colours his various necessities. It might seem extraordinary that an army, intended to achieve any great enterprise, should be so ill provided. But the Earl of Hertford had long regarded Norfolk with a jealous eye ; and it is strongly surmised that he now used his influence indirectly to withhold supplies, that he might have, in Norfolk's failure, fresh ground for accusation. It was under these unfavourable auspices that the two generals, leaving the direct road to Paris, proceeded towards Montreuil, where they were joined by Buren and his Germans. For the emperor, diverging from the plan proposed, had chosen to sit down before St. Dizier, which led Henry to fix his mind upon the conquest of Montreuil and of Boulogne, as the means of strengthening the English pale. And thus it was, that for these favourite, but paltry objects of ambition, the great object at first in view, which might be well worth striking for, where victory seemed so certain, was blindly disregarded and abandoned.

The march of the English army to Montreuil, led M. de Biez, the marshal of Boulogne, which town, above all others, Henry eagerly desired, to miscalculate the king's intentions ; so that leaving it to the charge of his son-in-law, De Vervins, he threw himself into Montreuil, with a determination to defend it at all hazards, until Francis should have covered his capital.

It was then that Henry set in motion his main army :

¹ In the State Paper Office, June 15, 16, 17.

A.D. 1544. it encamped before Boulogne on the 19th of July; and after some small skirmishes obtained the lower town, together with the tower that controlled the haven. Trenches being cut; mounts raised, and artillery planted, the battery commenced; and fifty Cornish miners having been sent from Montreuil, a mine was sprung, and the assault was given with so much impetuosity, that De Vervins offered to capitulate. The sum of a hundred and fifty thousand rose-nobles promised, and in part supplied by the Earl of Hertford, is said to have accelerated its surrender; and it is clear that De Vervins' judges thought him guilty of the charge, as he was doomed to expiate the treason with his life. This happened towards the end of August. On the 8th of September Henry took possession of the town, riding through the streets in military triumph. He waited not, however, to see the result of the siege of Montreuil; but committing his conquest to the custody of the new Lord Lisle, returned to England October 1, with the laurels he had *purchased*. He had done nothing effectual to reinforce the army round Montreuil, within whose walls was a strong garrison, well furnished with military stores,—one hundred native men-at-arms, four companies of foot, and two thousand Italian infantry, under noted Neapolitan commanders—their movements directed by the vigilant, experienced, and enterprising De Biez. What expectation the Lord Russell might indulge of carrying such a town under such disadvantages, may be gathered at an earlier period from the following letter to the master of the horse.

TO SIR ANTHONY BROWN, MASTER OF THE HORSE.

After my very hearty commendations, these are to advertise you, that as yesterday I removed from Cowshaye, and encamped

before my Lord of Norfolk, beside Bourdes, where we found much A.D. 1544.
scarcity of victual, and specially of drink. Assuring you that my Lord of Norfolk's ward hath drunk little or nothing but water eversith Friday last, and no bread could be almost had before this day; but as for drink, we have none but water. Albeit that Mons^r de Rues promised that we should lack no manner of victuals, we find such lack here now, that it is a world to hear the exclamation of the poor soldiers. If we go forward, having this scarcity, we know not how we shall do. I wot not what I shall say, but every man seeketh his commodity, and fair promise we have had, and very little we find; so that if we pass any further, being new as it is among us, we shall rather sustain greater scarcity, and be at our wit's end what we shall do. You know that my lady regent hath always promised that she would furnish us with victuals; but as yet we see it not performed, according as she hath promised the king's majesty: the lacks are so great, that in a manner we are in no surety of any provision. And as for Montreuil, I see that we shall do little good there, by M. de Rues' saying, whose advice is, that we shall set but upon the one side of the town, which cannot sound in mine ears to be good reason; for I have not seen a town besieged having any issue out or in to it, but that the same should be environed, and to leave no gate open; for leaving any part open, it cannot be by any reason that the same should be won so. And further he saith, that in case the French king do man it, as he may yet do at his pleasure, to be then impregnable. I do perceive they go about all for their own commodity: and, so far as I judge, they care not whether we do win it or no, so that we may lie there, and be as a defence and a buckler for their country, and to leave our money among them, for such our necessary expenses there, and still they be of mind to have (us) thither.

I must declare unto you, as to my very good friend, my foolish opinion what I do think in this. I have seen the king's majesty make four sundry voyages into France, sith the beginning of his reign, with this journey: and for all these charges his majesty hath not in France one foot more than he had forty years past. And in case we should after this sort wander, as I may well call it, in a wild war, dispending so much, to the

A.D. 1514. king's no little charge, the same cannot sound so much to his highness's honour: besides, that to be bruited in the world, that so noble and prudent a prince, the father of all Christendom in this world, as he is, and so reputed and taken, should return home without winning any thing; this should encourage the French men little to set by any army that shall pass over hereafter. I must shew unto you, as unto my very good friend, my foolish fantasy, that is this:—

There are two things most necessary and easy to be had of any other within all France, Bulloigne and Ardes, as M. de Rues saith, that neither of them is able to hold out past two months, though we never shot piece of ordnance to them. As for Ardes, a few will besiege it, so that mounds and bulwarks of earth be made before the gates, whereby there may be no entry in, nor issue out of the town. As for my part, if the king's pleasure so were, I durst undertake, with seven or eight thousand men, to enterprise the same: and as for Bulloigne, after like sort (it) may be used, but not so easily, nor with so few in number as the other. And so this way being taken (the king's majesty's army being besides in the field), I cannot see which way the French king should succour or aid any of them both, what power soever he had. And then for Montreuil, if so be the king's mind were to besiege and environ the same, which otherwise is no siege, an army so then being there, in the very way that the French king should succour any of both the said towns, must needs be a let for his passage to the aid of them. And assuredly the country being so devastated as now it is, it must needs follow that it is impossible for the French king to pass the same with any army, for he should have neither horse-meat nor man's-meat: all which considered, in my foolish fantasy it must needs follow, that the king shall bestow the time well for this year, and besides that, to stand in a great hope to have Montreuil withal, which be the pieces most necessary for his majesty, except he went into Normandy; and thus shall he make as goodly a pale of the country between Guisnes and Montreuil as ever was seen.

I ensure you they have brought us such a way, and through such straits as, and if I had been one of the five hundred, I durst have ventured upon five thousand, as I take it, to the intent to

save their own country; so that if the Frenchmen had been men, A.D. 1544. they might have so stayed us, that it should have been to our shame.

Sir, I would be very glad to hear from you now and then, among others. Thus I pray you that I may be heartily recommended unto all my good friends and fellows of the privy chamber; beseeching Almighty God to send you all according unto your heart's desire. Written at Bourdes, the 1st day of July.

Your own assured,

J. RUSSELL.¹

To the Right Worshipful Sir Anthony Brown, Knight,
Master of the Horse with the King's Majesty.

In a subsequent letter to the king himself he more plainly expresses his hopeless sense of the attempt. "I have heretofore sued unto your majesty," he says, "that it might please the same to send hither some of experience and knowledge to see our doings here, and how this town is besieged. Which, I ensure your majesty, I like not so very well; for that we do lie so far the one from the other, and that in case any power should come suddenly, we were not able one to succour another. And the town being besieged no otherwise than it yet is, the gates being left open, I think surely it will not be won; for they may take in at all times men and victuals at their pleasure, as on Saturday last, at night, there came into the town one hundred horsemen at the Causeway, and even so they may come in at Bulloigne gate at their pleasure, as well as there."² The Duke of Norfolk, in like manner, urged that the king's honour would be impaired if succours were refused, and entreated Suffolk, by all their old affection and long acquaintance, to afford him some assistance. But finding that officers were withdrawn from them instead of forces added, the two

^{1 2} State Paper Office.

A.D. 1544. generals, without neglecting their accustomed labour at the mounds, the mines, the trenches, and the ordnance, directed their main endeavours to cut off the enemy's supplies, and thus to reduce the town by starvation. By the 1st of August they were within little more than a half hake of Abbeville gate, had beaten down a strong round tower, which had wrought them much annoy, and had begun a mound within the level, working day and night upon it with six hundred men, which would, they hoped, within a little while, enable them to destroy, or possess themselves of a vast bulwark of earth there, which had proved the chief defence of that part of the town.¹ And many an heroic feat of arms was done in the daily skirmishes and sallies. But just at the juncture when success shone through the gloom,—when the garrison was reduced to such distress as to be upon the point of capitulating, the separate peace of Cressy was concluded by the emperor, the Burgundians of De Buren were ordered to withdraw from the siege; and the dauphin, with ten thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, was in rapid march to its relief, and near at hand. No alternative remained. A council of war met in Sir Francis Bryan's tent on the 28th of September, when it was concluded that, with their diminished forces, it would be little less than madness to risk a general engagement; a retreat was accordingly ordered, and was accomplished without loss. Despatching their artillery whence it might be shipped for England, they retired to Boulogne. A *camisado* upon this town was attempted by the dauphin, who succeeded in surprising Bas-Boulogne; but being almost instantly attacked with great vigour, he was compelled at once to relinquish his advantage, and to lead away in shame his disappointed numbers, with the loss

¹ Lord Russell to Secretary Paget. State Paper Office.

of the Seigneur de Fouquesolles and others. The English A.D. 1545. generals, with their respective armies, reached Calais in good order, and crossed the channel, if with no new lustre added to their names, with no decrease of reputation.

In the following year the war was actively renewed. A powerful French army was sent against Boulogne, and formidable preparations were in progress for a series of descents upon the English coast. In this conjuncture Lord Russell was despatched to visit and place all the sea-ports in his presidency in a state of security; and his correspondence with the council, extant in the Paper Office, shews with what diligence this service was discharged. He found, he says, the best exceedingly defective, and destitute of the strength and the provision necessary to meet aright the risk that was impending. At Poole and Weymouth he took order for securing payment of the labourers' arrears; Exeter he found very weak in the event of an attack, as there was nothing to prevent foreign vessels, though without a pilot, from entering the river and departing unmolested at their will. He directed accordingly the erection of suitable fortifications, which, being commenced, he left under superintendence of the sheriff,¹ and proceeded to Dartmouth and Plymouth, at both which ports he took the same precautions. On the 18th of July, M. d'Annebault, the French admiral, with all his navy, appeared before Brighthelmstone, and landed his forces to despoil and burn the country; but the beacons being fired, the people rose in arms so fast and numerous, as to oblige him, with some loss, to recall them, and steer off. The news of which reaching Lord Russell, as he journeyed along the coast with

¹ Sir Hugh Stukeley.

A.D. 1545. Sir Francis Bryan towards Falmouth and St. Michael's Mount, he issued orders to all mayors of the western ports to despatch the vessels in their havens to the fleet at Portsmouth, and fitted out from all parts privateers to scour the seas, which daily brought in prizes.

Thus fortifying, as he proceeded, the castles, houses, and other points framed by nature for defence, and seeing them, as far as he was able, supplied with ordnance and ammunition, he again returned to Dartmouth and Exeter.

In the meanwhile the king had tidings that the French fleet had anchored off St. Helen's Point, and gave orders for his admiral to sail and give them battle. The French made their descent upon the Isle of Wight the following morning, the admiral landing there two thousand of his men; but the spirit of the islanders was up, as in the days of Sir Theobald Russell; on the same site they confronted the invaders, slew, with many others, the Provençal captain, the Chevalier Daux, and drove the rest back to their galleys.

On the 7th of August, Lord Russell addressed the following letter to his friend Sir William Paget. It is noticeable principally as containing the sole instance to be met with of his indulgence in any severe remark on the conduct or disposition of the characters with whom he mixed.

TO SECRETARY PAGET.

After my most hearty recommendations, these shall be not only to render unto you my heartiest thanks for those your letters of the 6th of this present, by the which I understand of the French navy there lying between Dover and Bulloigne, and of the king's preparation towards them this next week by my lord admiral, with the determination for the French men before Bulloigne by my Lord of Surrey (Almighty God defend them both), but also for your often pains in writing to me; wherein you have done me singular

and most friendly pleasure, being very glad to hear that some of the western ships are repaired unto Portsmouth, the setting forward whereof I have seen to, as of others here, which I trust shall shortly be there; and yet the matter not so great, in case mariners were to be gotten; the lack whereof I have sundry times advertised the council. As they can be furnished, so shall I not fail to haste them thither with all diligence possible, and trust that ere it be long, the king's majesty shall have thirty out of these parts, with those that be already at Portsmouth. And more I call upon to be in all readiness, as mariners may be gotten, for the which I cause to be laid wait in every place. We have looked for the Frenchmen in these parts, thinking that for so much as they have sustained such losses for the same, they would have been here ere now; but I suppose they do hobby (hover) about for some other purpose: nevertheless, if they chance to come into these parts, I trust to our Lord they shall be received to their pains; for, thanks be to God! we are meetly honestly prepared for them, and our men here well willing to the same.

I understand the good cheer you have had at Cowdray, where I doubt not but that you have found the master of the horse¹ a man most unreasonable, and as one whose words and deeds do not agree together; for he will speak in such kind of fare more than I am sure he hath performed, and one that will blame every man for that fault, and yet will do worse himself. I would he were here, where he should have want both of good meat, and also drink. And thus most heartily thanking you always for your most gentle remembrance, I heartily commit you to God. Written at Exeter, the 7th day of August, by your own assured,

J. RUSSELL.²

To the Rt. Worshipful Sir Wm. Paget, Kt.

Chief Sec. unto the King's Highness.

By the 17th he appears to have placed all the coast of the four south-western counties in a state of readiness against the threatened danger. The French admiral, after his repulse from St. Helen's, made fresh essays to land upon

¹ Sir Anthony Brown. ² State Paper Office.

A.D. 1545. the coast of Sussex ; but finding that the beacons were again fired, and the whole shore defended by multitudes of men ; and ascertaining, from the fishermen he took, the military preparations of the king at Portsmouth, and of Russell farther west, he soon retired.

By these and the like measures all danger was averted ; and on the 26th Lord Russell received letters of recall to court. He remained a few days longer to complete the works at Exmouth, and then repaired to the king, whose cordial thanks he received for his devotion to the public weal. “ I know very well, sir,” was his admission to Sir William Paget, “ that my coming home so soon is the rather through your good help, wherein you have done me greater pleasure than you are aware of ; for at my coming hither I had four or five hundred marks, and now scantily have wherewith to bring me home.”¹

A last attempt was made by Francis, in 1546, to recover possession of Boulogne ; but in the skirmishes attendant on the siege, the Earl of Hertford had uniformly the advantage. He then made overtures for peace ; and his commissioners were met at Guisnes by the Earl of Hertford, Viscount Lisle, Sir William Paget, Gardiner, and Dr. Wotton, on the part of England. By them it was agreed, June 7th, that Boulogne should be surrendered within eight years, on the payment of eight hundred thousand crowns, and whatever else might be found due. Peace was accordingly proclaimed on the 13th ; and Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, was sent, in consequence of these more amicable relations, as Henry’s agent to the christening of the dauphin’s daughter. For the full establishment of the peace, and to receive the French king’s

¹ Exeter, August 29. State Paper Office.

oath, the lord admiral, with a hundred lords and gentlemen, all clad in velvet coats and chains of gold, with five-and-forty well-selected yeomen, met him at Melun. They were royally banqueted till August, and were then dismissed with munificent rewards, the yeomen with two hundred crowns, the gentlemen with chains of gold, and Dudley with a stand of golden plate or cupboard, valued at fifteen hundred pounds. A.D. 1545.

This treaty was the last important act of Henry's reign. When at the siege of Boulogne, it was remarked that he had grown extremely corpulent; but his corpulence had now so far increased, that he was obliged to be removed up and down stairs by machinery. The arraignment of the Duke of Norfolk, and execution of Earl Surrey, his accomplished son, both of whom had rendered him essential services, shew how entirely disease, and the indulgence of that will which his supremacy in matters of religion had rendered more than ever keen and arbitrary,¹ had soured his humour, and cor-

¹ Yet it would appear from the following anecdote, in which Lord Russell shews to some advantage, that the whole of the atrocities perpetrated under the king's terrible enactments are not to be laid to his charge, but to that of Gardiner, and others equally intolerant. Sir George Blage, one of the privy chamber, being falsely accused to the chancellor by Sir Hugh Calverley and Mr. Littleton, of some disrespectful words against the mass, was found guilty on the first day of the week, and condemned to be burnt upon the fourth. When his fellows of the privy chamber were apprised of it, "the king," says Fox, "hearing them whispering together, which he could never abide, commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good Earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his privy chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding him eftsoons to draw out his pardon, and so Blage was set at liberty. Who coming after to the king's presence, 'Ah! my Pig?' saith the king to him; for so he was wont to call him. 'Yea,' said he; 'but if your majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time!'"—*Acts and Mon.* vol. ii. pp. 495-6.

A.D. 1547. rupted the naturally good dispositions of his heart. In the article of death he made his will, and appointed sixteen executors, who were to act as counsellors during the minority of his successor, whereof the Lord Russell was named one, with a legacy of five hundred pounds, “for the kindness and good service he had shewn him.” Henry expired on the 28th of January, 1547; and, as he retained to the last, says Strype, notwithstanding the severities that stained his latter years, much of his early popularity, his obsequies, which were solemnised according to the Catholic ritual, with all the heraldic pageantries prescribed for a crowned head, were witnessed and fulfilled with a decorous woe. And when the mould was cast into the grave by the officiating prelate, at the words *Pulverem pulveri, cinerem cineri*, first the lord great master and lord chamberlain, and then the other ministers and officers in order, with heavy lamentations, broke their staves in shivers on their heads, and cast them in the vault; and the gentlemen ushers, in like manner, broke their rods, and cast them also into the grave, not without sighs and tears, and other tokens of sincere regret. The funeral ceremonies being finished, the Garter king-at-arms stood in the midst of the choir, and, after proclamation of the style and titles of his successor, was joined by the whole company of heralds, as he cried with a loud voice, VIVE LE NOBLE ROI EDWARD! and a general blast of the applauding trumpets responded to the cry.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH TO THE DEATH
OF THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

A.D. 1547-1555.

Accession of Edward the Sixth, 1547...Progress of the Reformation...

Lord Russell a protector of Coverdale the preacher, 1548...He is sent against the Devonshire insurgents, 1549...Formidable nature of the rebellion...Siege of Exeter, July 2...Lord Russell's deep discouragements...He is assisted by three patriotic merchants...Overthrows the malcontents in two engagements, August...and relieves the city...Interposes in the dissensions between the Protector and the Earl of Warwick, Oct. 1549...Is created Earl of Bedford...One of the ambassadors for the peace of Guisnes, 1550...His conduct in the restitution of Boulogne defended...He abets the cause of Lady Jane Grey, 1553...Is reconstituted Privy Seal; and sent on an embassy to Philip of Spain, 1554...His death, 1555...and character.

IN the coronation of the intelligent and amiable Prince Edward, which took place after Seymour, now made Earl of Somerset, had been constituted protector," Lord Russell, reinstated in his dignity of privy seal, officiated as high steward for the day, whilst his son, Francis, was one of the forty knights of the Bath created in honour of the accession, whose installation was accompanied with such unusual splendour that they were required to pay gratuities to the heralds double in amount to the accustomed fees. A.D. 1547.

To the state of the kingdom in an ecclesiastical point of view, the executive council paid immediate attention. Provincial visitations were established throughout England to inquire into the conduct of the clergy, with intent to purify the service of the church from superstitious observances,

A.D. 1548. and to secure to the people a more unmixed and effective instruction in Scriptural truth. These were followed by a preparation of the Liturgy, of which the letters missive of the council commanded all diocesans to make instant use, the Bishop of Winchester and the Princess Mary inveighing with some bitterness against the innovation. The former, in that spirit of intolerance which had characterised the age, and from which even the purely conscientious, the enlightened, and the wise, appear to have been redeemed but by very slow degrees, was committed to the Fleet until he should be willing to comply with the ordinance; the princess was somewhat ably answered by the lord protector. The annates and appeals to Rome, celebration of the mass, and the use of crosses, images, and holy water, had been abolished in the late reign; marriage was now permitted to the clergy, the formulary of their ordination was amended, the Bible in the vulgar tongue was commanded to be read and expounded; on the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer, the ancient missals were called in; and the admirable Latimer “was instant, in season and out of season,” in giving full effect to these judicious reforms.¹ But images still continuing in many churches, to which pilgrimages were made and incense offered, fresh injunctions were issued for their removal. In all these salutary measures of the council, Lord Russell took a zealous part; and his attachment to the Reformation was yet more conspicuously demonstrated by the open favour he extended to Coverdale, the celebrated preacher and reformer.

¹ Provision being made that the people might learn in English the Lord's Prayer, Latimer, the better to inculcate it in their memories, used to say it before and after his sermon; and when any poor persons applied to him for alms, he would desire them to repeat it, or otherwise cause his servants to require it of them.

Miles Coverdale had been educated, as some accounts A.D. 1548. inform us, in a convent in Yorkshire; but being disgusted with the dissolute lives of the monastic orders, he left the fraternity, and, by a studious perusal of the Holy Scriptures, became convinced of the great errors of the Romish faith. Desirous to spread a knowledge of the real truths of Revelation, he assisted Tindal in his translation of the Bible, and wrote several treatises against the prevailing superstition. Being persecuted for these imputed heresies, he fled into Germany, and, establishing a press, printed a number of Bibles of his own translation, and sent them into England, where they were eagerly received. The English prelates, however, jealous of their circulation here, bought up all the remaining copies, imagining that no more would be sent over. But the proceeds of this sale being secretly remitted to him, the zealous Lutheran was enabled to produce a much larger edition, which, being dispersed far and wide throughout the kingdom, promoted in no small degree the interests of the Reformation. On the accession of Edward the Sixth, he left the German benefice to which he had been presented by the elector palatine, and came to England, where he was much and deservedly caressed. Lord Russell had been a steadfast friend to him in his adversity; he now took him under his peculiar protection, made him his domestic chaplain, and in 1551 was instrumental in his promotion to the see of Exeter, which he adorned so highly by his devoted piety, extensive charities, and exemplary zeal in diffusing the true doctrine, as to have been compared, and perhaps to have merited the comparison, with the primitive bishops of the Christian church.¹ In the grateful

¹ On the accession of Mary he was ejected from his see, was imprisoned, and in great danger of his life from the malice of his Romish enemies. The

A.D. 1548. exultation of his soul at witnessing, in these better times, the progress of a purer faith, he breaks forth, in his "Dedication to the English Paraphrase of the Epistles," into a just eulogium on the monarch under whose auspices the sacred seed of truth was scattered, represents him as one whom the Eternal had chosen, to bring the nation unto rest and quietness in him; as nobly occupied in stopping up the gaps that antichrist and his false doctrine had made in the Lord's vineyard, and rebuilding the walls of his house, which, through idolatry, superstition, evil example, and horrible abuses, had been wholly broken down.

But it was not without much priestly opposition and popular ferment that these salutary changes were effected. It was impossible for the tenacity shewn by Gardiner and the Princess Mary not to have its followers amongst the dispossessed monastic orders, the unregenerate clergy, and that numerous portion of the people who remained wedded to their ancient superstitions. Amongst the latter a spirit of disaffection to the regency was industriously cherished; and they were easily induced to engraft upon their dislike of these changes which formed properly the quarrel of the monks alone, their own peculiar wrongs, arising from the enclosure of commons, an encroachment which had been carried to a great and unjustifiable extent. The council wisely attended to the rising clamour; and not only by proclamation commanded such as had enclosed commons to throw them open, under certain penalties, by a day assigned, but appointed

King of Denmark interceded for him, and received him into his kingdom: he afterwards revisited the elector palatine, who reinstated him in his former benefice. On the death of Mary he revisited England; but could not, from humility, be prevailed on to return to his diocese of Exeter. During the latter part of his life he lived privately in London, actively engaged in exercising his ministerial functions, till death put a period to his valuable labours, June 25, 1565.

commissioners throughout England to inquire into these mis- A.D. 1549.
demeanours, consisting, says Strype, of persons of integrity and quality. Sir Francis Russell was one of the six appointed for the seven midland counties. But as few were hasty to obey the proclamation, the impatient populace, presuming on the late declaration in their favour, took the right of redress into their own hands, breaking open the enclosures, levelling the ditches, killing the deer in parks, and committing other ravages. The first disturbances in Bucks and Northamptonshire were speedily allayed by the judicious policy of the commission for those parts. But elsewhere they broke out with such violence, that it was thought necessary to summon all the realm to be ready in arms, that the troubles might be terminated before the protector's meditated expedition into Scotland should take place. By virtue of this levy, Somersetshire was quieted by Sir William Herbert, and the eastern counties by Parr, marquess of Northampton, and Dudley, now made earl of Warwick. But a yet more perilous commotion arose in Devonshire and Cornwall, where the family interest of Cardinal Pole chiefly predominated, and which was principally excited by his influence.

Rebellion here was more deliberately organised. Elsewhere the commotions were stirred up only by the lowest individuals, who had more simply for their object the removal of enclosures; but here the insurgents took religion for their watchword; and when the lower ranks had been pushed on to raise the storm, a superior class of malcontents, gentlemen by birth, came forward on the stage. These were allured to their ungenial compact with the vulgar, by the artful circulation of a rumour that the king was dead,—artful, as in that case their property would naturally seem secure, their cause being abetted by a Catholic queen in the ascendant. Under

A.D. 1549. these auspices, and the excitement produced by the harangues of priests, a vast multitude of undisciplined armed peasantry was soon assembled, and a manifesto issued, containing seven articles of grievance, followed by fifteen more, demanding, amongst other requisitions, that celibacy of the clergy, mass, and the law of the six articles, should be restored, and that Cardinal Pole, recalled from his exile, should be made a member of the privy council.

The first symptoms of insurgency were small. They began at Sampford-Courtney, in Devonshire, on Whitsunday, the 9th of June, 1549, the day appointed by parliament for reading in English the newly-established Liturgy. The service was performed on that occasion amidst murmurs and resentful looks; but on the next day the parishioners compelled their priest to re-assume his vestments, and to celebrate the mass. The tidings spread; the action was admired: clapping their hands for joy at the recital, the vulgar in other hamlets gathered together, and compelled the like service from their unreluctant priests. The justices round Sampford confronted the ringleaders; but either from secret divisions, from fear, or favour, they applied to the disease, which vigour alone could have stayed, the fruitless corrective of reason and persuasion. This proceeding only rendered them the more audacious; and a gentleman named Helions, a Fleming by birth, although generally respected in the country, and enforcing, in the mildest manner, the remonstrances of the magistracy, was smote upon the neck with a bill by one of the insurgents, and slain on the spot.

In almost all cases of civil commotion, the sight of blood operates to fix the wavering inclinations of the multitude, and adds a tinge of frenzy to its first exasperation. Being uncontrolled, and joined by others out of Cornwall, a con-

siderable body took the road to Crediton, and, in anticipation A.D. 1549. of some hostile movement from the protector, fortified the town. To the Council nothing could be more embarrassing than intestine troubles at this juncture; for not only was the expedition into Scotland thereby paralysed, but the young French monarch took advantage of what was so likely to engage its whole attention, to renew his late-suspended efforts for the conquest of Boulogne. They despatched, however, the two Carews, Sir Peter and Sir Gawain, to inquire into the cause of the tumult, and, as far as possible, to appease it. The principal gentlemen of Exeter accompanied them to Crediton; the entrance to which town was commanded by two barns, strongly barricaded. All endeavours to persuade the insurgents to submit to the laws, and retire quietly to their homes, were ineffectual. On the first attempt at force, the party were greeted by a flight of shot and arrows; yet they carried their point by setting fire to the barns. The insurgents fled, but to disperse throughout the country the alarming rumour, that their houses, corn-fields, and orchards, were to be destroyed by fire. The invention was successful; the charm worked. Swarming from all quarters, the irritated people sent assistance to the rebels; and fortifying as they could their towns and villages, bade a bold defiance to all government and law.

In this excited state of feeling, the slightest trifle was sufficient to fan the flame. An aged woman, near Clyst St. Mary's, chanced to be overtaken on her way to church by Walter, the father of the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh. She had her rosary in her hand. He condescended to advise her to forsake her superstitious practice, and conform to the new laws. The zealous beldam, angry at his interference, when she reached the church, scattered disorder through the

A.D. 1549, congregation by a wild narration of threats that had been applied to her, unless she left her beads, and gave over the use of the blessed bread and holy water. The people caught her fury, and rushed from church to wreak their wrath on the insulter. He escaped on that occasion by flying to a chapel; but was afterwards taken, and imprisoned in the tower of a church dedicated to St. Sidwell, where he remained during the whole commotion, in frequent peril of his life. Being now, however, disappointed of their victim, the multitude began to fortify the bridge towards Exeter by laying trees across the way, and surmounting them with ordnance.

Information being received at Exeter of these proceedings, the two Carews and other gentlemen rode to Clyst, and endeavoured to obtain a conference with the misguided people. Sir Thomas Dennys, Sir Hugh Pollard, and another gentleman, were admitted into the town; but finding, after a long parley, that no compromise could be agreed to, they returned to Exeter, and entered into farther consultation with the mayor. The mayor stated, that the city was not provided with victuals sufficient for any large company of men, so that Sir Peter left but five of his retinue within the walls, and departed with his friends to Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire, the residence of Sir Hugh Paulett, which he reached in safety by unfrequented ways. Other gentlemen of the country were less fortunate than they, being, as they travelled on the roads, entrapped amidst the trees, and placed in durance; whilst many more, in apprehension of some sudden violence, were led to forsake their homes, and sequester themselves for awhile in caves and solitary woods.

Meanwhile, the council, apprised of the resistance to their

orders, thought it necessary to send down some one of greater authority and address. The difficult task was committed to Lord Russell. He was armed with a commission of extensive powers, to act as he thought best for the pacification of the tumult; and there is strong reason for believing that his appointment was concerted by the ambitious Dudley, who, being busily engaged in forming the party which afterwards accomplished the overthrow of Somerset, anticipated Lord Russell's opposition, and dreaded his integrity. A.D. 1549.

Lord Russell had scarcely reached Hinton ere he was joined by the Carews. He instantly despatched Sir Peter to state to the court the necessity of an armed force to quell the tumults; for he appears, on setting out, to have been attended only by his usual retinue, and to have relied for success in the service he had undertaken solely on his personal influence and the persuasive exhortations of Miles Coverdale, the preacher. He soon saw the futility of such an expectation. The repeated proclamations which he issued to disperse the multitude, although merciful in the extreme, were disregarded; and the insurgents, presumptuous from his want of military force, proceeded to invest Exeter, and, by blocking up the highways, to cut off all intercourse between that city and the country. They now assumed some discipline, chose commanders, and were joined by Pomeroy, Arundel, and other gentlemen of fortune, who not only condescended to organise their forces, but to carry before them in procession the cross and other symbols of their faith. After the mayor had been repeatedly summoned to surrender, two thousand persons at down before the city on the 2d of July, 1549, threatening if they took it to put it to the sack. Their first success, which was the possession of the suburbs, so exhilarated their spirits with the hope of

A.D. 1549. spoil, that numbers brought their wives into the field to clothe them in expected silks and velvets, and with them panniers and horses to bear home their anticipated treasures.

The city itself was divided into factions of the old and new religion, the partisans of the Romish church having the advantage in numbers. Religious differences also divided the magistrates and the chief citizens; but these, balancing well in their minds the frightful evils of anarchy with the duties which they owed to the laws, and to that government from which they sought protection, employed themselves in preparations suited to the dangerous crisis. Under their superintendence arms were every where sought for; men were mustered, soldiers were retained, captains appointed to each ward, wardens for the day assigned, and watchmen for the night, mounds were erected, and ordnance placed along the gates and walls; and nothing was, in short, left unaccomplished which the case and necessity required.

On the other hand, repeated attempts were made by the enemy to carry the city by scalade and by assault; but they were on all occasions successfully repelled: they burnt the gates, but found fresh ramparts starting up behind, in the form of crescents, to oppose their passage; whilst the ordnance from the battlements, served by no unskilful hands, carried death and devastation to the ranks of the assailants. They then sought to overthrow the walls by mining; but the citizens made counter-mines with much ingenuity and perseverance, and their subterranean approaches were effectually traversed. Being thus foiled in their efforts, and knowing that the city had but scanty provision, the rebels sought to reduce it by blockade. Every avenue by which victuals could be conveyed to the besieged was accordingly occupied; and the pipes and conduits that conducted water to them

were broken up, and melted into bullets. As the city stood upon a hill abounding with fresh springs, this expedient wrought little injury to the citizens; but the scarcity of provisions was soon severely felt, and tumults and seditions, which it required a rare union of firmness and discretion to appease, were raised against the dauntless mayor. Every effort of insidious and open treachery was also put in practice as the siege became protracted: conferences were held between the two disaffected parties from the walls; information was conveyed to them by billets bound to arrows and shot to the besiegers, and councils within were secretly agreed on for delivering up the posterns of the castle. In repressing discontents, in separating the combatants who skirmished in the city, in discovering intrigues, and carrying war by sallies into the camp of the assailants, the mayor found himself incessantly engaged, and acquitted himself with a patriotic heroism and fidelity that might justly rank his name with the celebrated worthies of more ancient days. To the often-urged persuasions of others to surrender, he and the ancients of the city nobly answered, "No! in this city we were born and bred; we have here obtained our substance, and sworn allegiance to the king; here it is that hitherto we have faithfully redeemed the pledge; and here we will continue so to do or die." Of those who distinguished themselves in sallies from the city, John, the younger son of Sir William Courtney, of Powderham, and Barnard Duffield, a steward of Lord Russell, both honourable persons of good service and experience, seem especially to have signalised themselves. Upon one occasion, at the head of an adventurous party, they issued from a postern, and fell upon the enemy; some of whom they slew, took others captive, and, with a considerable spoil and store of

A.D. 1549.

A.D. 1549. slings and ordnance, returned in safety from the onset. One or two, however, paid the penalty of their ambitious valour. Drake, the late receiver of the city, was shot by an arrow through the cheeks, and in this plight regained the town; and John Goldsmith was taken prisoner by a rebel, who next attempted to slay him with his bill; but the burgher shunned his fate by discharging his own hand-gun: he shot the rebel, took the spoil, and escaped with it uninjured to the city. The distress of the citizens was slightly relieved by the cattle and provisions that were seized on these occasions; but no effectual relief advancing, they were at length reduced to such extremity as eagerly to devour the flesh of horses, and to substitute without hesitation bran for bread. This scarcity increased the spirit of dissension, and fresh seditions arose, in one of which the populace had nearly got possession of the gate by force of arms, and of the castle by seduction of the soldiers. For four weeks had they now held the city, in hope almost against hope, and still no succour came from Lord Russell or the council.

When Carew, in obedience to this nobleman, had reached the court, he found himself at first but ill received. The protector, in anger at the tidings of which he was the messenger, reproached him as the cause of the commotion, by his having fired unnecessarily the barns at Crediton. But Sir Peter declared that he had done nothing without good warrant, and produced the king's letters under his own hand and signet. To this the Lord Chancellor Rich, with great effrontery, replied, that there was no sufficient warrant for an act like that but a commission under the *great* seal; and that therefore, if he were to have his legal due, he ought to be hanged for the offence. But Sir Peter boldly threw the insult back, and replied so stoutly, and charged

the duke so deeply, that he was in the end returned with A.D. 1549. letters to the privy seal, promising a speedy and sufficient aid both of money and of men.

But time passed on without the supplies for which Lord Russell looked with such intense anxiety. The people in consequence, who had at first assembled round to do him service, one by one forsook him; and of the fidelity of those who stayed he was but ill assured; so that having about him but a very small guard, he is stated to have lived in greater fear than any which he excited; and that, as delay increased, he was in an agony of trouble, having quite exhausted all his private means. In this forlorn condition, rumours being current that Exeter was taken, and the commons in rebellion around Salisbury, he was almost persuaded by the gentlemen of Dorsetshire to retire thither for safety, till the council should enable him to make head against the insurgents. From this course, however, Sir Peter Carew decidedly dissented; his advice prevailed; and the lord privy seal returned to Honiton, to await rather the chance of fortune than any fulfilment of the council's promises.

In this emergency his anxiety was appeased, and the neglect or poverty of the government repaired, by three private patriotic individuals. Thomas Prestwood, late mayor of the city, John Bodley, and John Periam, three opulent merchants, resorted to him, and on their credit raised a large sum of money from Bristol, Lyme, and Taunton, wherewith he provided himself with arms and men. And his spirits reviving with this happy succour, he lost no time in facing the enemy, who, hearing of his distressed condition, had marched against him, and were now arrived at Fennington bridge, six miles from Honiton. He found them

A.D. 1549. strongly posted on the bridge, and in a meadow close beyond. The bridge he carried by assault, and charged the insurgents in the meadow with such smartness, that though they fought with a reckless resolution, he overthrew them with the loss of three hundred men. Being joined a short time after by a body of horsemen under the Lord Grey de Wilton, and by Spinola, the Italian, with three hundred arquebusiers, he proceeded towards Exeter on the 3d of August, and his passage being disputed upon Woodbury Downs by a fresh detachment from Clyst, a second engagement followed, maintained with equal stubbornness, and succeeded by a like result. The victory was solemnised by a sermon and general thanksgiving, conducted by Coverdale; but before the service was completed a new alarm arose. The fugitives retreating to Clyst had fortified the town, and summoned to their aid confederates from every quarter, to the number of six thousand men. Dividing his small army of one thousand into three divisions, in order to attack at the same time the three different avenues, which were strongly barricaded and entrenched, Lord Russell bade his trumpets sound, and his soldiers advance. The way to the town was narrow, and led between steep banks, upon which the enemy were posted, who, with stones and other missiles, sorely galled them in their passage; and Sir William Francis, captain of the vanguard, was slain in the defile, his helmet being battered closely to his head. With some difficulty the king's troops drove the rebels from their entrenchments, and forced an entrance into the town; but many of the soldiers being slain by shots from private buildings, they set fire to the houses as they passed along the streets. The rebels rallied in the middle of the town, where the struggle became fierce and cruel, till the whole were put to flight. No fewer than a

thousand of these misguided men were thought to have A.D. 1549. fallen in the conflict of that day; some by the sword, others by the flames, and not a few by the high waters as they crossed the river, in their vain escape from the revenging sword.

Having thus obtained possession of the town, Lord Russell gave directions to Lord Grey to pass the river by the bridge. This was very strongly barricaded, being overlaid with trees and timber, and fronted with cannon, beside which stood the gunner with his lighted match. Four hundred crowns were by proclamation promised to the man who should prove the foremost in passing it: the first who ventured fell a victim to his boldness; but farther mischief was prevented by a gentleman, named Yard, who, fording the river by a well-known mill, took the gunner in the rear, and slew him with his weapon: the way was cleared, and the army passed over to Clyst heath.

The rebels around Exeter, apprised of these defeats, resolved to abide the issue of a general engagement. They accordingly came and pitched their camp opposite to the king's army, in a place difficult of access, having lofty hedges in the front, strengthened by deep ditches and high banks, whereon they placed their cannon, which, at every discharge, did great execution. Lord Russell, observing the disadvantage of his position, ordered a passage to be opened through the hedges and enclosures that led to their rear; and being thus ensnared, the insurgents had no alternative but to submit, or struggle hilt to hilt. The one they would not, and in the other they prevailed not; yet whilst life and limb remained, they fought with a fury and intrepidity which drew from Lord Grey the observation, that he had never seen the like in any of his foreign wars. Their

A.D. 1549. overthrow was total; where they fought, they fell: and few were left alive to tell to others the tale of their disastrous fortune.

On the following day the army marched to Topsham, bearing with them on a horse-litter the body of Sir William Francis, which was interred with military honours in the cathedral of St. Peter's. The few rebels that were left near Exeter shifted for themselves by speedy flight; and the gentlemen who were imprisoned in the churches being thus freed, repaired to the city walls, and informed the sentinels of the aid that was at hand. Early on the morning of the 6th of August the liberating army came in sight, and the transport of the famished citizens was complete when they found that Lord Russell had scoured the country, and was sending forward to them munition-waggons laden with provisions. He encamped without the city, but sent before him the royal standard charged with the red dragon, to be planted on the walls next to the postern of his own house. No sooner had he entered his tent than the heroic mayor and his brethren waited on him with their congratulations: he received them with the highest commendations of their fidelity and duty, and promised them such rewards as the king could suitably bestow. All their charters were in consequence subsequently confirmed, their franchises enlarged, and their revenues augmented; whilst the magistracy, in devout remembrance of so signal a deliverance, appointed the 6th of August to be annually kept as a day of thanksgiving; an observance which we find continued to the present time.

In the restoration of order, which now engaged his close attention, the conduct of Lord Russell exhibited a judicious mixture of severity and mercy. The superior captains he

reserved for trial; the inferior ringleaders he delivered to summary execution; but to the misdirected multitude he was lenient in the extreme, and thousands of them daily flocked to him to have their pardon sure.¹ The commotion, however, was not yet appeased. Several scattered parties of the rebels still traversed the country; but at Sampford-Courtney the numbers became so considerable, that another expedition was judged necessary. At this juncture Sir William Herbert came in with a reinforcement of one thousand Welchmen, and the conjoint forces were commanded to set forward. The particulars of the engagement that ensued are narrated in the following despatch.

LORD RUSSELL TO THE COUNCIL.

Pleaseth it your lordships to understand that upon Friday we marched from Exeter to Kirton: seven miles of the way was very cumbrous, and on that day we went no further. On Saturday we marched towards the camp at Sampford-Courtney; and by the way our scouts and the rebels' scouts encountered upon the Sunday on a sudden. And in a skirmish between them was one Maunder taken, who was one of the chief captains. Order was given to my Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert, for the winning of time, to take a good part of our army, and with the same to make with all diligence possible towards the said camp, to view and see what service might be done for the invasion thereof. They found the enemy strongly encamped, as well by the seat of the ground as by the intrench of the same. They kept them (in) play with great ordnance, till more convenient way was made by the pioneers. Which done, they were assaulted with good courage, on the one side with our footmen, and on the other side with the Italian harquebuttiars, in such sort as it was not long before they turned their backs and recovered the town, which they before had fortified for all events.

¹ The Lord Protector to Sir Philip Hobby, ambassador with the emperor. *Strype*, vol. ii. App. EE. p. 105.

A.D. 1549. While this was doing, and I yet behind with the residue of the army conducting the carriage, Humphrey Arundel, with his whole power, came on the backs of our foreward, being thus busied with the assault of the camp; the sudden shew of whom wrought such fear in the hearts of our men, as we wished our power a great deal more, not without good cause. For remedy whereof, the Lord Gray was fain to leave Mr. Herbert at the enterprise against the camp, and to retire to our last horsemen and footmen, whom he caused to turn their faces to the enemy, in shew of battle against Arundel. There was nothing for an hour but shooting of ordnance to and fro. Mr. Herbert in this mean time followed the first attempt, who, pressing still upon them, never breathed till he had driven them to a plain fight. To the chase came both horsemen and footmen, in the which were slain five or six hundred of the rebels; and among them was slain one Underhill, who had the charge of that camp.

At the retire of our men I arrived, and because it waxed late I thought good to lose no time, but appointed Sir William Herbert and Mr. Kingston, with their footmen and horsemen, to set on the one side, my Lord Gray to set on their face, and I, with my company, to come on the other side; upon the sight whereof the rebels' stomachs so fell from them, as without any blow they fled. The horsemen followed the chase, and slew to the number of seven hundred, and took a far greater number. Great execution had followed had not the night come on so fast.

All this night we sat on horseback, and in the morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston, who immediately began to practise with the townsmen, and the keepers of Greenfield and other gentlemen, for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty, as they immediately set the gentlemen at large, and gave them their aid, with the help of the town, for the apprehension of Arundel, whom, with four or five ring-leaders, they have imprisoned. I have sent incontinently both Mr. Carews, with a good band, to keep the town in a stay; and this morning I haste thither with the rest.

We have taken fifteen pieces of ordnance, some of brass and some of iron. Of our part there were many hurt, but not passing ten or twelve slain. The Lord Gray and Mr. Herbert have served

notably. Every gentleman and captain did their part so well as I A.D. 1549. wot not well whom first to commend. I have given order to all the ports that none of the rebels shall pass that way, &c. &c.¹

Proceeding into Cornwall, Lord Russell executed martial law upon some of the offenders there. Arundel, Winneslade, Pomeroy, and a few others, he sent to London for their trial; they were there convicted and executed as traitors, their estates confiscated, and bestowed by the privy seal upon the two Carews, and others who had done good service at this dangerous crisis.²

Thus terminated a rebellion perilous alike from its religious character, from the foreign enemies by whom it was fomented, and the tendency which it had to embarrass the government in all its movements both at home and abroad. The services rendered by Lord Russell during the late reign had led Henry, in one of his conversations, to make some mention of a future earldom for him.³ The conversation was now remembered, and gratitude for recent benefits influenced the young king and his council to defer no longer the payment of this tribute of regard. On the 19th of

¹ Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* vol. ii. App. p. 103.

² One of the principal actors in, and victims of, the insurrection, was Welsh, the vicar of St. Thomas's, to which he had been formerly preferred by Lord Russell. With a few better qualities, he possessed some singular accomplishments for a religious teacher. "He was," says the annalist of these transactions, "an excellent wrestler, shot bravely with the long bow and the cross bow, handled his hand-gun and his piece right well, was a good woodman and a hardy, and such an one as would not give his head for the polling, nor his beard for the washing." Having been one of the mainsprings of the rebellion, and instrumental to the death of two innocent reformers, he was doomed to pay the same penalty which he had exacted from them. A gibbet was erected on the tower of his church, where he was hanged in chains, with his beads, his sacring bell, and holy-water bucket, bound about him; the redoubted Barnard Duffield presiding on the occasion.

³ Strype.

A.D. 1549. January, 1550, he was accordingly created Earl of Bedford ; and the site and circuit of the suppressed Cistercian Abbey of Woburn was at the same time granted to him.

It was whilst Lord Russell was yet engaged in Cornwall that the blow was struck against the power of the protector, which led first to his disgrace, and after to his ruin. It was impossible that the lords of the council could long brook that high tone of dictation which the duke at first occasionally, and at length habitually, assumed. Paget, with that rough sincerity which bespeaks both great familiarity and great affection for him, had early expostulated with, and warned him of the rocks on which his errors were in danger of impelling him.¹ But the Earl of Warwick had none of Paget's disinterestedness, and, influenced by the yet vague aspirations of a vast ambition, he sought less to school Seymour to improvement, than, if need were, to flatter, and, at all events, to take advantage of his faults. On the first breaking out of their dissensions, both factions turned an eye towards Lord Russell, who was now so powerful in the west, and each made efforts to attach him to its interests by its own representations of impending danger to the state from the other's projects. In the meanwhile, as jealousies increased, preparations for a shew of military force were resorted to by both. A yet more ominous proceeding was Somerset's withdrawing the young king to Windsor, at the head of five hundred armed retainers, and his issuing letters to the nobility, and proclamations to the people, to assemble in arms for his majesty's protection. On the 8th, Lord Russell received the following application:—

¹ See his letters in Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. App. pp. 107—14.



G. P. Harding del.

T. A. Dean sculp.

JOHN RUSSELL first *EARL OF BEDFORD*.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

K. G.



PROTECTOR SOMERSET TO THE LORD PRIVY SEAL.

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, A.D. 1549. here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain, with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended on (of) us. They pretend and say that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers, and other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which, if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live), the matter being now brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, especially of those men towards the king's majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the king's majesty, in such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a very friend; the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's majesty in time to come; and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but as ye tender your duty to the king's majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as ye have to his highness in his castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell. From Hampton Court, the 6th of October.

Your lordship's assured loving friend,

EDWARD SOMERSET.

There is no doubt that Lord Russell, whilst fully sensible of Somerset's extravagant assumptions, was personally well affected to him, as were Cranmer, Paget, and Sir Thomas Smith, the only three of the council in London who, for the public good, stood by him as mediators in this struggle; even the king, in his private journal, censures the disorders of his uncle. To avert the horrors of that

A.D. 1549. civil war which he saw threatened, Lord Russell resolved to steer an even course between the two conflicting parties; to fling his weight and forces in the scale of neither; to compose their differences if he could, but at all events to do his utmost that his country should be as little injured as possible by their discords. In his reply, therefore, to the duke, he lamented these dissensions, as a greater plague upon the realm than any other that Almighty God could send, "being the sure way," he observed, "of conquerors to make them slaves; and unless overruled by a good Providence, and calmed by wise determinations, to bring upon the whole realm universal thralldom and calamity." As regarded his request, he stated, that having previously heard of the dispute, in fear lest some conspiracy was meant against the royal person, he had already set forward for the king's surety with all the power he might make. But perceiving now by the lords' letters, that the tumult had arisen upon private grounds between them, he should judge it expedient to levy a more convenient force, wherewith to withstand the worst that might ensue, to preserve the king and kingdom from invasion of their foreign enemies, and to stay all bloodshed, if in the heat of faction such should be intended. It was thus, he remarked, that in his opinion he could best discharge his allegiance. For two things he besought the duke,—first, that the king might not be put in fear; and next, that if in any respect he had himself given just cause for these dissatisfactions, he would so far conform to their desire, that no private feud might affect the public peace. And having thus imparted his most friendly counsel, he concluded by declaring, that if, as was reported to him, he had sent out letters and proclamations for stirring up the commons, it was what he could not like, and he trusted

he would be wise enough to avoid the effusion of blood.¹ A.D. 1549. By the concurrent efforts of Paget and his friends, this dreaded issue was prevented; and Lord Russell, on the 11th, wrote again to signify the pleasure he had received, on learning the reasonable offers he had made for an accommodation with the lords, and to promise that Sir William Herbert and himself would do their utmost to secure an honourable reconciliation; for which purpose they were hastening forward with the levies they had raised.²

Before Lord Russell could arrive in London, Somerset was induced to yield himself a prisoner; but his good offices were still successfully exerted in tempering the consequences of the articles of accusation. In December, Somerset formally acknowledged his offences, was liberated, reconciled to his colleagues by resigning the protectorate, was readmitted to his seat in council, and cemented, as all hoped, the reconciliation with his rival Warwick, by the marriage of his daughter with that nobleman's eldest son, Lord Lisle. The short space of eighteen months, however, sufficed to dissipate this illusion. When called upon for his vote as to the duke's fresh guilt or innocence, the Earl of Bedford would fain have cleared him, if it had been possible, of the treasonable felony for which he was arraigned;³ but the evidence cited was too strong to leave a doubt of his having meditated the destruction of some of the state council, and the subversion of the rest: he was convicted of the crime, and, not without compassion of the people whom he had benefited, submitted to his fate on Tower Hill.

Lord Russell had no sooner been invested with his new title, than he was required to take part in negotiations for

¹ Hollinshed, vol. iv. p. 1057.

² Id. from Fox's Acts and Monuments.

³ Lloyd, as before.

A.D. 1549. a peace. Francis the First had survived but a few months his English rival and ally. On the accession of his son, Henry the Second, the emperor gave it as his judgment that he would prove a restless and ambitious monarch. The event shewed his discernment: yet peaceful relations were continued between him and the English council till the rebellion in Devonshire broke out. This tempting occasion was too strong for Henry to resist. He cancelled the treaty agreed to by his father, and proclaimed war with England, both by sea and land. With a considerable army, therefore, he came in person to Boulogne, and at the same time sent his navy to attack the isles of Guernsey and Jersey. The navy was repulsed in triumph by the English fleet; and after a sharp assault upon Boulogne, which was found more amply stored than Henry had expected under our intestine troubles, he was compelled, as the winter of 1549 advanced, to raise the fruitless siege; but he retired in possession of several conquered castles, into which he threw strong garrisons; so that those who knew how absolutely his mind was bent on reconquering this town before he drew his sword in Germany, where fortune stood ready to invite him, saw clearly that the peril was postponed, not past, and whispered their predictions that another summer would certainly witness its reduction.

The multiplied embarrassments that beset the English council led them narrowly to look into the value of the prize for which they fought. However desirable it may have seemed to Henry the Eighth for strengthening the English pale in France, under the dazzling views which he always entertained, of winning back some portion of his ancestors' inheritance, it was quite evident that the altered position of affairs in England rendered it no longer service-

able on any such account. It may indeed be questioned, A.D. 1550. whether in the hands even of Henry, had his existence been prolonged, it could ever have been made to compensate for the blood and treasure that had been lavished on his expedition; a treasure amounting to more than half a million, and liquidated by one of those arbitrary exactions which, by a singular perversion of language, were miscalled *benevolences*. Even at the time of its conquest, when its worth would be enhanced to the victors by all the associations of military honour connected with their recent struggle, the minds of some of the council were strongly set against the policy of its retention; as we find both Secretary Paget and the Duke of Norfolk warning the Lord Surrey, its commander, “in no wise to animate the king to keep his conquest,” as clearly foreseeing “that whoever should so do would at length get but small thanks”¹ from the disappointed monarch. That to Henry himself its maintenance, when balanced with the charges it was certain to entail, promised no other advantage than as a kind of guarantee for his expenses in its fortification, and for payment of those arrears of pension which he claimed (itself a forlorn hope), is apparent from his consent that Boulogne should be restored in 1554, when these should be settled. But with the death of Henry the pretensions of the English crown expired; or rather, with a drained exchequer, with its northern frontiers harassed by an active and successful enemy, whose reprisals required all its disposable force—a force too, drafted not from its own bosom, but by pay from Flanders, on the emperor’s permission; Ireland, in an ill condition, siding with the Scots upon the score of their

¹ Nott’s Works of Surrey, p. 178.

A.D. 1550. religion; and with the passions of its own population in explosion on the dangerous ground of a faith still unsettled; England was in no plight for pursuing any object but such as was inseparably connected with her own security.

This persuasion had weighed heavily on the protector: the charges of Boulogne were insupportable; and he had felt inclined to anticipate the time prefixed for its surrender, and by delivering it up for a reasonable sum, to acquire, with the repose for which the kingdom languished, the grace of making a voluntary resignation rather than incur the disgrace of seeing it wrested from his hands, without either acknowledgment or compensation. But when he saw the strong prejudices that were raised against him at the bare proposal of the project, by the busy arts of his great rival Warwick, he was driven, as a last dependence, to look towards the emperor, though with but little hope that he would render any assistance, knowing how dissatisfied he was with the changes in religion. Sir William Paget was, however, sent to make the trial, and laboured with Sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador at the imperial court, to renew the former treaty, with some additional arrangements that would comprehend Boulogne within the league defensive, England being ready, in return for such protection, to offer a reciprocal advantage. But the emperor would not seriously listen to any proposal that threatened to compromise his relations with France, whilst his affairs in Germany remained unsettled: he would not even allow England to levy in his dominions the two thousand foot and the three thousand horse she wanted for the new defence of her disputed conquest, although flattered by another embassy in the person of Sir Thomas Cheney. What then remained, but to preserve at least the Protest-

ants of Germany, and to unite with France, who in that A.D. 1550. quarrel and upon that theatre would be easily engaged against the emperor?

Meanwhile the fall of Somerset occurred, and the Earl of Warwick found himself in possession of the ascendancy: but the business of Boulogne embarrassed him in all his projects. The French had cut off all communication between it and Calais, to which the council had sent its foreign troops, with three thousand English, resolving to force a way for the transmission of supplies, if it should come to such extremities: but Warwick, who had opposed the idea of its cession solely from his factious hostility to Somerset, was well convinced, with the rest of the council, that it was not worth the cost and danger of a war, and nothing but the shame of acting such an inconsistent part prevented him from making the first overtures for peace. The French king, anxious to be set at liberty to wait upon the emperor's movements in Germany, spared him this delicacy, by employing secretly, through the Connétable Montmorenci, the Florentine Guidotti to set the treaty on foot. Matured by him, commissioners on both sides were appointed to treat,—Rochepot, Chatillon, Mortier, and De Sany, on the part of France; the Earl of Bedford, Sir William, now Lord Paget, Secretary Petre, and Sir John Mason, upon that of England.

The substance of their instructions was, to agree to the delivery of Boulogne, the time and manner to be as honourable as might be managed, but to demand that the Scotch queen should be sent back for perfecting the marriage of the English king, formerly agreed on; that Newhaven and Blackness should be dismantled; and that the perpetual pension stipulated to King Henry should continue to be paid,

A.D. 1550. with all arrears that were due before the wars; yet they were only to insist upon the last, if the former could not be obtained. Scotland, which was at war also with the emperor, was not to be included, unless he, their ally, was also satisfied; the places there that had been conquered were to be offered up, except Roxburgh and Aymouth; but at first they were to agree to no more than a cessation of arms.

The ambassadors went over on the 21st of January, and met the French commissioners near Boulogne. Upon declaring their demands, the French answered peremptorily that the Scotch queen was designed for the Dauphin; that their prince would be tributary to none whatever, and would not pay any of the arrears or debts demanded; but that they were willing to give a considerable sum for the restoration of Boulogne, and to allow the English, if they thought fit, to make a reserve of all their claims, either on France or Scotland. As to the latter, they required that all places taken should be restored, as well Roxburgh and Aymouth as Lauder and Dunglos. The latter two were soon yielded, but the ambassadors were limited as to the former. There was also some discussion on Alderney and Sark, the latter of which was in the hands of the French, who were yet willing to restore it, if the fortifications on both islands were razed. Upon this there were fresh instructions sent over from the council, that they should so far insist on the retention of Roxburgh and Aymouth, as to break up their conference upon it; but if that did not work upon the commissioners, they should yield the point rather than break off the treaty. They were also instructed to require hostages till the sum agreed on should be paid, and to struggle all they could in the matter of the isles, but not to break about it.

The French knew too well the distresses of England to A.D. 1550. recede from any point they had decidedly in view. The treaty was accordingly finished upon these articles, about the end of February; but, as a medium between the English demand of all the arrears of King Henry's pension, and the French refusal of it, under the express condition that all claims of either side should be reserved, as they were at the beginning of the war. Boulogne was to be delivered within six weeks from the date of the treaty, with the ordinance, except that which the conquerors of it had cast; for which surrender four hundred thousand crowns, then of equal value with the English noble, were to be given, one half three days after the town was yielded up, the other in August. The queen and realm of Scotland were to be comprehended in the treaty; Lauder and Dunglos castles were to be restored to the Scots, but their fortifications razed, as well as Roxburgh and Aymouth, and never again repaired. This treaty, signed upon the 24th of March, was duly executed by the contracting parties; and Boulogne being delivered April 25th, Lord Clinton, the governor, was made high admiral, the arrears of the garrison were paid, the foreign soldiers dismissed, and the English soldiers were suitably rewarded for the brave defence which they had made.

The conclusion of the peace, as we learn from the king's diary, was in London celebrated by bonfires; a circumstance which certainly gives us no idea that the public opinion of it was in accordance with what we find expressed in the impassioned invective of Mr. Burke. Burke denounces the Earl of Bedford "as a counsellor for advising, and as a negotiator for executing, the conditions of a dishonourable peace, the surrendering the fortress of Boulogne, then," he

A.D. 1550. says, "our outguard on the continent, by which Calais, the key of France, and the bridle in the mouth of that power, was lost a few years afterwards." A moment's consideration of the fact, that Calais was safe in English hands for nearly three hundred years without this vaunted "outguard," is sufficient to demonstrate the folly as well as the injustice of the latter part of this denunciation; and the paramount necessity of peace for the welfare and security of England, under the circumstances in which she then stood, forms an appropriate answer to the former. But the argument of Burke has its counterpart in Rapin. The treaty, according to Rapin, was "dishonourable," "because the pains which Henry had taken to secure his pension or yearly tribute in lieu of the title he pretended to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by it; there remaining to England only an indeterminate reservation of the claim which had occasioned the effusion of so much blood, since the reign of Henry the Third, and the empty title of the King of France." Now, it was assuredly this very reservation which prevented the compromise of honour; a reservation that could honourably be acted on whenever England might have the power of enforcing it. The real question is, had England such a power? Unquestionably not; and if so, it was wise to leave in abeyance those pretensions which, though more than once partially established, were recognised at a frightful sacrifice of blood and treasure, through centuries of trouble and alarm; and which, notwithstanding the devoted valour of her Henries, her Edwards, and her Talbots, she could never permanently maintain. The truth is, that the idea of dishonour originated solely in the cry of faction. It was afterwards perpetuated by Warwick's affecting to disown participation in the treaty, in order to

escape the odium of appearing to sanction what he had A.D. 1550. once so loudly reprobated. But his counterfeited sickness, when his signature was required, was at best but a clumsy expedient; no one was deceived by the hypocrisy of the act; and the unmanly desertion of his colleagues which it shewed, could only tend to deepen the popular dislike of him.

In the July of 1550 the council were apprised, by their ambassador with the Queen of Hungary, that several ships had been furnished by the emperor under Scipperus, the Fleming, to convey by stealth the Princess Mary to Antwerp, whither several of her gentlemen were gone already, with the intention of placing her on the throne by means of a foreign war and intestine commotions, and of then restoring the Catholic religion; and that Scipperus had already surveyed the most suitable landing-places of the eastern counties: whereupon the Earl of Bedford, with two hundred men, and Sir Anthony St. Leger, with four hundred, were sent to guard the coasts, whilst Sir John Gates repaired with other forces into Essex, where the princess was residing in her house at Newhall. She herself was visited by the chancellor and state secretary, and with some reluctance consented to remove with them to Hunsdon. This vigilance of the council defeated the design; but the measures that were subsequently resorted to for inducing herself and compelling her attendants to relinquish their observance of the rites prescribed by their religion, bespoke an intolerance, and violation of the unalienable rights of conscience, which, however they may be extenuated by the imperfect illumination of the age, admit of no defence.

In April, 1551, the Earl of Bedford was constituted commissioner and lord-lieutenant of the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; and in July, as warden of

A.D. 1552. the Stannaries, on the occasion of some disorders in the royal mines, was engaged in measures for their better regulation. In October of the same year, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, being driven into Portsmouth on her way from France, and repairing to the court, his son, Lord Russell, was amongst the nobles who escorted her from Hampton to her appointed dwelling, the bishop's palace in London; and Lady Bedford was one of the four countesses, attended on by a hundred other ladies, who on the day of interview brought her from thence to the palace at Westminster. Next day the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, and others, went to visit her, and to deliver a ring, with a diamond and two palfreys, as a token from the king.

At the commencement of 1552, the earl was appointed a commissioner to institute an extensive inquiry into the integrity of those connected with the receipt of the crown revenues in the courts of exchequer, of the duchy of Lancaster, the court of wards and liveries, of augmentations, and of the first-fruits and tenths.¹ At his house near Ivy Bridge, in the Strand, were managed some of the great disputations that took place upon the Eucharist.² In May, a patent was granted to him of Covent Garden, and the Seven Acres, now called Long Acre, which at that time were only of the yearly value of six pounds and a noble, both having reverted to the crown by the death of the Duke of Somerset.³ In June he accompanied the monarch on his last progress through Sussex, Hampshire, Wilts, and Berkshire, which was accomplished in great state, the king taking all his heralds in his retinue; whilst the noblemen and officers in attendance

¹ Strype, vol. ii. p. 300.

² *Ib.* p. 306.

³ *Ib.* p. 501.

had a select number of their own respective bands; and varied with hunting the tenour of their social banquets. A.D. 1553.

Some popular disturbances, in March 1553, occasioned a severe commission to be issued to the Earl of Bedford and nine others, to put in execution all such martial laws as they might think necessary;¹ but the tumults, whatever they were, appear to have been easily suppressed.

On the 6th of July the amiable young king closed his eyes in death. His deep attachment to the reformed religion had rendered him the easy and unsuspecting instrument of Northumberland's ambition; and by his last will the crown was settled on the Lady Jane Grey. The council had been found more difficult to manage; for, by a letter to Secretary Cecil, written in May, in reference to the scheme he had in hand, we find Dudley lamenting "the great negligence of many in the court in those most dangerous days, whom neither zeal, nor the consideration of the time, could scarcely awake, who smoothly winked all cares from their hearts, and whom," in consequence, "such was his duty to the state, like a very careful statesman, he could illy bear."² The refusal of Chief Justice Montague for a long time to draw the will, and of Cranmer and others to subscribe it, until commanded by the king upon their fidelity as subjects, are events well known. Young Edward's zeal and anxiety for the maintenance of the reformed religion were shared by the Earl of Bedford; yet, as the excellence of the end cannot sanctify the means, the latter must sustain his share of any censure which may be attached to the rest of the council for their acquiescence in the measure, as his signature to the testament appears with theirs, and as no parliament (though, to satisfy some

¹ Strype, vol. ii. p. 373.

² Ib. p. 423.

A.D. 1553. scruples, a parliament was promised to be called on the occasion), had sanctioned such a settlement.

Upon Edward's death, Northumberland pursued his object of ambition with activity. Artillery was hastened to the coast, a fleet was put in preparation, the intended succession was secretly imparted to the city magistrates; and, after the whole council had vowed fealty at Sion House to the weeping and reluctant Jane, she was conveyed in state to the Tower, and was immediately afterwards proclaimed Queen, with the usual formalities. She submitted to a hasty coronation: to the proclamation requiring the obedience of the people, and to letters calling on the lieutenants of counties to enforce her title, she affixed her name as queen. But the principal agent of these measures forgot "that there is an invisible power in right," and a natural antipathy against wrong and usurpation. It was in virtue of this principle that the people rallied when the Princess Mary put forth her pretensions to the throne, although, it must be owned, her cause was also aided by the people's remembrance of her father, and by that deep and settled hatred of Northumberland, which would have ruined a better cause than his. The duke must have been sensible of this dislike, as he certainly was suspicious of the professed attachment of the council, some of whom he had deeply injured, particularly Arundel and Paget. Accordingly, after he had departed to make head against the adherents of the princess, without receiving any salutation from the people as he passed, the spell dissolved which had made, as he imagined, the fabric of his hopes complete, and the rich materials whereof it was composed spontaneously fell asunder. Yet it is but justice to the council to observe, that they appear to have been still resolute to make their promise good, and to

peril their lives and fortunes for her whom they were A.D. 1553. pledged to obey. But when intelligence was brought that, to complete the levies which they had promised to send after Northumberland, their own tenants had refused to arm,¹ and that Mary had satisfied her Suffolk friends that she meant no change in matters of religion, it was obvious that the cause of the Lady Jane was lost—that, destitute of the popular support, which would have been their only warrant for engaging in an armed contest, the power to effect their purpose was shivered in their hands. There were, besides, among the council in the Tower, some who favoured Mary from either an open, or a secret attachment to the old religion, and some who only disguised their sentiments until they could escape from the jealous watch of the Duke of Suffolk. After the disaffection of their tenants was made known, the Earl of Pembroke sought to leave the Tower, and the Marquess of Winchester accomplished it:² but the Earl of Oxford was the only nobleman who, so late as the 18th, had signified to Mary his resolution to support her. On the 19th the council were aware of Northumberland's ill fortune; yet Cranmer and fifteen others sent their requisition to the lord lieutenant of Essex, who had acquainted them with these tidings, not to desert them. The Earl of Bedford's name appears not to this document, from which it is natural to conclude, that he was away on some commission, engaged probably in levying forces to suppress the tumultuous opposition that had risen to them in Buckinghamshire. We find Cecil declaring afterwards, in his submission to Mary: "I practised with the lord treasurer to win the lord privy seal, that I might by the Lord Russell's means cause Windsor

^{1 2} Hollinshed, vol. iv. p. 1087.

A.D. 1553. Castle to serve the queen, and they eleven to levy the west parts for the queen's service;" but there is no evidence to shew that the overture was in any respect listened to. Upon the same day, the 19th, some of the council persuaded Suffolk to countenance their going into the city to raise forces; and a second meeting took place at Bainard Castle, to which such of the nobility as were not hostile to Mary were invited. There the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke absolutely refused to run any farther risk; and, after a warm discussion and some angry recrimination, agreed to send in their adhesion to Mary. Lloyd, the only writer who descants upon the part which the Earl of Bedford took in these transactions, says, rather vaguely, that "he was concluded by the vote of a majority to a commission for peace, but not to action, for conscience-sake;" and that, as regarded Mary, "he understood her right, and disputed not her religion, regarding not so much her opinion as his own duty," under the position in which he found himself; "not what she was, but what he should be."¹ Immediately after this last discussion, Arundel and Paget rode post to Mary, carrying her the great seal, and obtained immediate forgiveness: her pardon of the other lords was deferred till she had obtained further information of their conduct.

After this brief but busy and agitating drama, in which so many of the actors sought her disadvantage, Mary certainly behaved with a wise moderation, as a few only of the more turbulent and prominent agents fell victims to the part they played. Some of them were even sworn of her privy council; the Earl of Bedford was reconstituted privy seal. It was the duty of such noblemen, as it was doubtless their

¹ State Worthies, vol. i. p. 325-6.

endeavour, availingly to interfere with their new mistress A.D. 1553.
for the life of that virtuous and singularly gifted lady, whom
their own invitations had allured from privacy to take possession of a sceptre which they could not continue in her unambitious hands.¹ Some annalists have thought that, with so many extenuating circumstances pleading in her favour, her acceptance of the glittering temptation would ultimately have been overlooked, but for the subsequent event. For though a prisoner in the Tower, and under sentence of death, many months passed by without its being exacted. But her death-warrant was sealed by Wyatt's insurrection in the spring of 1554. That ill-starred undertaking rendered fruitless the hopes which those who pitied her misfortunes secretly indulged, and which her own engaging character, no less than Mary's hitherto benign forbearance and the intercessions of her partial friends, decidedly encouraged. The unprincipled Northumberland and inconsiderate Suffolk perished undeplored; but, over the untimely fate of Lady Jane Grey, admiring Pity has long exhausted all her eloquence, and Humanity her reprehending tears; since, where it had been noble and even safe to have forgiven, it was merciless and vindictive to condemn.

The government appears to have had secret intelligence of Wyatt's intended rising, as, a few days before it actually took place, the Earl of Bedford was despatched to Devonshire, where the two Carews, his former coadjutors, were ripe for the revolt. His sudden coming excited their alarm; they fled to France, a circumstance which mainly tended to

¹ The reluctance with which the Lady Jane had consented to accept it, forms the subject of a highly-interesting painting by C. R. Leslie, R.A. in the collection at Woburn Abbey. The aged Earl of Bedford is one of the personages introduced into the picture, which has been beautifully engraved in mezzotinto by Bromley.

A.D. 1554. hurry the insurgents forward before the time prescribed, and thus to disconcert their schemes.

This was nearly the last public act of any moment in the Earl of Bedford's busy and eventful life. He had literally grown grey in the service of the state; and the martial pride and energy of feeling which lit up his countenance in manhood, as it is depicted by Holbein about the time of the battle of Pavia,¹ had given place to the repose and mild serenity that speaks of chastened passions, to the long and snow-white beard, the faded cheek, and sober lineaments, that impart to his portrait of this later period a venerable, and, as it were, a patriarchal dignity. Yet, though feeling the advance of age, when the treaty of marriage was set on foot between the queen and Philip of Spain, gratitude to the memory of that prince's grandfather, who had first introduced him at court, induced him, after the independence of England had been fully provided for by the marriage contract, to accept of an embassy to Spain, to receive, in conjunction with Lord Fitzwalter, the full powers of Philip for concluding the alliance. They were accompanied by many noblemen and gentlemen; and, arriving at Corunna, were welcomed with appropriate honours. Proceeding thence to meet the prince at St. Jago di Compostella, they obtained his formal ratification of the contract, and returned in time to receive him on his landing near Southampton, July 20th. With other noblemen they conducted him to Southampton; and at the altar, on the 24th, the Earl of Bedford, Marquess Winchester, and the Earls of Derby, Arundel, and Pembroke, performed the ceremony of giving away the queen. He survived this ceremony but a few months. By his last will he assigned

¹ See the Portrait, p. 372.

no express place for his sepulture, appointing only that A.D. 1555. his remains should have Christian burial: he gave, says Dugdale, to his son Francis, his collar and robes of the Garter and of parliament; and, full of honours as of days, laid down his useful life on the 14th of March, 1555, at his house near Ivy Bridge, in the Strand, with the reputation of being almost the only nobleman at court who, by his prudence, moderation, and innate gentleness of heart, had managed to stand well with all parties during the changes, the troubles, and the factions, of four successive reigns.

His remains were borne to Chenies, in Buckinghamshire; and there, after celebration of the customary service, were deposited within the church which had received the dust of many knights and warriors of the Cheney family, and which yet contains some of their antique and mutilated effigies. The countess survived her husband but a few years. By her testament, bearing date the 19th of August, 1557,¹ she "committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting only by the death and passion of his dear son Jesus Christ to be saved;" and her burial to the discretion of the Marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, to the Abbot of Westminster, and the Lord St. John. She bequeathed to Edward, her grandson, her manor of Thornhaugh; to his brother, Francis, that of Stibbington, in Hunts, for term of life; to Henry Cheney, Esq. her daughter's son, an annuity of 50*l.*; a second of 20*l.* to Hugh Trevanion and his wife Sybil, her servant, during the lifetime of Hugh's father; and the rest of her property to her son, the Earl of Bedford, whom she constituted sole executor.

¹ Proved March 21, 1558.

A.D. 1554. To the memory of this great earl and countess, Francis, their son, caused a very magnificent monument in marble to be executed in Italy, which is erected at the east end of the chapel, on the north side of the church at Chenies.

Mr. Lodge, in summing up his sketch of the first Earl of Bedford, has observed ; “ We know little of his character. His friends have neglected to transmit to us an account of those merits which could challenge such a vast extent of court favour : his enemies, too, have been silent as to those faults which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. Yet the detail given of his services is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities ; and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion.” The conclusion is a fair one, and it is hoped that the present biography, embracing as it does so much of his own unstudied correspondence, whilst it may tend to prove the correctness of the inference, will so far elucidate the obscurity that has hitherto hung upon his history, as to enable a more decided opinion to be formed both of his character and merits. By the steadiness of his attachments, the earl preserved to the last the powerful friends whom he acquired through life. Although he could scarcely have avoided the encounter of rivalry or envious malice, in a sphere where prosperity is certain to provoke dislike, the opposition of his enemies must have been controlled by his prudence, or disarmed by his amiable disposition. Yet his prudence must have been equalled by his perseverance, as he ever improved that auspicious tide, “ which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;” and his clear ambition or his happy genius bore him on, at each remove of others, with a temperate triumph, to some yet higher attainment of dignity or trust. The

security with which he stemmed the perils that cannot but A.D. 1555.
have crossed his course, from the arbitrary passions of the first sovereign whom he served in any eminent degree—the “pride of place” which he attained amidst the cabals that disturbed the reign of his son—and the perfect repose and confidence which, though a Protestant counsellor, he enjoyed in the dark and persecuting days of Catholic intolerance, might provoke suspicions unfavourable to his virtue, if he were the only illustrious man who passed the fiery ordeal with unblemished safety, or were we to forget how many of the trials and dangers that compass public life may be averted by the singleness of honest patriotism, and the uniform observance of pacific moderation. By the annalists who treat of the transactions of his time, he is emphatically termed “the Gentle,” and “the Good;” and the estimation which these qualities would naturally inspire, was enforced by the respect derived from his vigour in council and his daring valour in the field. Deeper, brighter, and more dexterous talents than his were employed in the negotiations of his time; but none appear to have been exercised with a more uniform integrity, or greater devotedness to the success of his respective missions. The correspondent efforts which he used with others to prevail upon the pope to extricate himself from difficulty by the creation of cardinals for money, will be censured by the principles and morals of a purer age, although it may be questioned whether diplomacy has, since then, made any great advance in virtue. The device by which, if the tale be true, he freed himself from the situation of a captive, may have been a mere sally of wit, to provoke the amusement of his military comrades; but it cannot be reconciled to our notions of scrupulous good faith. With these minute exceptions, there exists no stain upon

A.D. 1555. either his honour or his memory : for Burke's denunciations, having no basis in reality, resemble only the visionary clouds called up by some angry magician, which darken and distort the face of nature for awhile, but dissolve without leaving behind them any trace of real ravage. The earl's *acceptance* of the splendid rewards offered by the sovereigns whom he served—the fruit of serious toils and of many and important services—can have been no crime, if they were won by virtuous means ; and there is nothing in his multifarious correspondence which manifests any extraordinary effort to wind himself by a courtier's arts into the royal favour,—and, least of all, that can mark him out as a “ *minion*” of the monarch whom he served. As regards, indeed, the *grant* of them, the living inheritor of his honours and rewards observes, with equal truth and candour, that “ no one who loves and reveres the pure principles of the English constitution, as established and confirmed at the revolution of 1688, can justify or approve them ; and that it may become a question for casuists to decide, whether these largesses, showered down in such profusion on the head of an individual, in times when practices so destructive to liberty prevailed over those maxims which we now fondly cherish as the soundest part of our political existence, were actually deserved by him.”¹ His deserts are before the reader, who may decide the question at his pleasure : but to settle it aright, he should carry back his mind to the camp, the treasury, and the institutions of the age in which they were conferred ; and weigh, with some degree of nicety, the benefits rendered to the crown by the various personages amongst whom its favours were to be dispensed. If, as cannot be disputed,

¹ Catalogue of Enamel Portraits at Woburn Abbey, p. 13.

the largesses of Henry were distributed with generous prodigality, there remains at least to his judgment the praise of sound discrimination in selecting for the object of them one who never stained his bounty by oppression; who, having served him long and faithfully, continued the same care to his successors; and growing hoary in devotion to the true interests of his country, expired with a reputation which none of his contemporaries had the hardihood or power to sully or detract from. A.D. 1555.

There are three portraits existing of the first Earl of Bedford, all by Holbein, one in the king's collection, the others at Woburn Abbey. The first forms one of the cartoons of Holbein, and has been engraved by Bartolozzi for the work of Chamberlain. It represents the earl nearly in profile, with a close cap, but without his order of the Garter. The second is a painting representing him in the same position, but with his order, and a cap differing from the first in shape: it has been engraved for Lodge's "Illustrious Portraits."

The third is a half-length, and shews him sitting in a chair with his wand of office, as comptroller of the household, and decorated with the order of the Garter. The figure has been engraved by Houbraken; but the engraving which accompanies the present volume is a more faithful copy of the original picture.

It remains only to be observed, that the first Earl of Bedford was not only a great encourager of the literature of his time, as appears by the incidental remarks of subsequent writers in the dedication of their works to his successor, but that he wrote two Latin treatises himself, which prove his attainments in Divine truth, viz. one volume on the Rights

A.D. 1558. due to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities; and another of Comments on the Canticles.¹

¹ "Johannes Russell, homo, ut apparet, illustris generis fuit, sed eruditione multò illustrior, qui percepta Dei veritate in Latino sermone conguessit,—super jure Cæsaris et Papæ, lib. i.; Commentarios in Cantica, lib. i. Primum opus vidi in Bibliothecâ Regis, alterum in Josiæ Simleri Epitome. Claruisse fertur A.D. 1530."—Bale; *Scriptores*, p. 102, after the "*Scrip. cent. 12^{ma}*."

In addition to the royal grants already noticed, the site of Thorney Abbey, with a great part of its possessions, was in 1549 given to the Earl of Bedford, then Lord Russell. The manor of Chenies had been the property of the Cheney family since the sixth of Edward I. Sir Thomas Cheney officiated as shield-bearer to Edward III. On the 10th of July, 8 Ed. IV., Sir John Cheney devised the manor to his wife Agnes, the daughter of Sir William Lexham, who, being childless, left it by her will, dated Nov. 20, 1494, to Sir David Phelyp and his wife—her niece Anne Semark, and their heirs, remainder in tail to Guy Sapcote, the son of the said niece by her first husband, and remainder to John Cheney, of Bois, in fee. Sir David and his lady dying without issue, the manor came to Anne, the daughter of Sir Guy Sapcote, then married to Sir John Broughton. But Dame Agnes Cheney having made, it seems, two wills during her lifetime, a difference had previously arisen between Sir David Phelyp and Cheney of Bois, and the question was referred to Sir Renald Bray and two other arbitrators, who decided in the 14th of Henry VII. that the Phelyps should have Chenies, and after them the Sapcotes and their heirs, with remainder to Sir John Cheney, to whom also was assigned the other lands at variance between them. Their decision was confirmed July 10, 1516, by the chief justice of the Common Pleas; and in consequence of the death of "young Mr. Broughton," the son of Anne Sapcote by her first marriage, the manor passed, on the death of the Earl and Countess of Bedford, to their son Francis, to whom, for greater security of the title, John Cheney, the heir male of its ancient proprietor, finally and formally conveyed it in 1560. The Sir Thomas Cheney, whose dispute with Sir John Russell has been noticed, and who perhaps married the daughter of Sir John Broughton to strengthen his claims upon this estate of his ancestors, had been henchman to King Henry VII. He was honoured with the Garter, made treasurer of the household to the three successive sovereigns; and died, warden of the Cinque Ports, December 8, 1558. His liberality was great, his hospitality unbounded. He kept thirty horses in his stables, and two hundred and five servants in livery, for all of whom he more or less provided at his death. "Well," says Hollinshed, "was that nobleman's son that happened to be preferred into his service."—See his eulogy, *Holl.* vol. ii. p. 1171.

¹ See Appendix, No. XXIII.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE SIEGE OF ST. QUINTIN'S, TO THE DEATH OF DAVID RIZZIO.

A.D. 1557—1566.

Siege of St. Quintin's, 1557...Accession of Queen Elizabeth, 1558...

Francis, earl of Bedford, made a privy counsellor, and engaged in the settlement of religion...Sent to the court of France, 1559...Made governor of Berwick, 1564...and commissioner on the projected marriage of the Earl of Leicester with the Queen of Scots...As lord lieutenant of the northern counties, overawes the Scottish borders, 1565...Marriage of Darnley, July 31...Intercedes with the English court for assistance to the lords of the congregation, Sept. 2...Receives the fugitive lords, October...Correspondence with the Earl of Leicester...Marriage of Lady Anne Russell, Nov. 11...Tourney in honour of it...Border inroads, 1566...Intelligence of the state of affairs at the court of Scotland, Feb. 14, 21...Darnley's increasing jealousy...Death of Rizzio, March 9.

FRANCIS, LORD RUSSELL, was in his twenty-seventh year A.D. 1557. when he succeeded to the earldom. In addition to the particulars already stated of him, he had been sheriff of Bedfordshire and Bucks in 1547, and knight of the shire for Northumberland in 1553, forming the first precedent in our history of a peer's eldest son being returned in that capacity. And when, for surety of the second payment of money for the restitution of Boulogne, three of the principal nobility of France came as hostages to England, he was one of those appointed to do them the honour of attendance to the court from Dover.

He had married, early in life, Margaret, widow of Sir John Gostwick,¹ and daughter of Sir John St. John, of Bletso, an honourable family, which traces its origin to William de

¹ Of Willington, Bedfordshire:—Arms; *Argent*, a bend *gules* cotised *sable*, between 6 Cornish choughs proper, on a chief *azure* 3 mullets *or*.

A.D. 1557. Saint-John,¹ grand master of the munition at the Conquest, whose Norman fief has been sought erroneously at St. John's, near Rouen ; the real spot appears to have been around the Castle of St. John-le-Thomas, on the confines of Brittany, in sight of the embattled rocks of Mont-St.-Michel². A reflected glory beams on the scutcheons of the St. Johns from their connexion with King Henry the Seventh, whose mother, the Countess of Richmond, sprang from the widow of Sir Oliver de St. John, by her second marriage with Beaufort, duke of Somerset. Of this the Countess of Richmond appears to have been mindful, in educating the father of Margaret St. John with her own grandson Henry the Eighth, who left him guardian to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. The Earl of Bedford by this lady had four sons, Edward, John, Francis, and William, and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The first important service which Francis, earl of Bedford, rendered to his country was in 1557, when, Queen Mary being obliged to abet her husband's quarrel with France, he was appointed one of the captains of her forces, and shared at St. Quintin's both in the danger of the siege, and in the reputation of the victory that preceded it.³

In the same year he received letters from the council, to levy succours in Bedfordshire and Bucks for the relief of Calais ; but neither in the disastrous defence of that town,

¹ Arms ; *Argent*, on a chief *gules*, 2 mullets pierced *or*.

² This is proved unanswerably by M. de Gerville, in his notice " Sur les Anciens Chateaux du Département de la Manche : " he establishes it, amongst other evidences, by references to the cartulary of Lucerne, to which abbey, in the twelfth century, the St. Johns were great benefactors. But before the appearance of this essay, the writer of these pages had come to the same conclusion, from perusing at Avranches the cartulary of Mt. St. Michel.

³ Whilst before the town he addressed a letter to his friend, Sir William Cecil, which is published in Haynes's Collection, p. 204.

nor in any other transaction of Mary's sanguinary reign, A.D. 1557. was he concerned. His zealous attachment to the Reformation had indeed early subjected him to the persecution of Bonner and Gardiner, being thrown with the Lord Rich into prison for his religious opinions,¹ where Bradford the martyr addressed to him a letter full of sacred comfort and spiritual exhortations.² He escaped, however, from their fangs, and afterwards retired to Geneva, where he assisted by his liberality the numerous other exiles whom religious persecution had driven from these shores.³ How long he abode there is uncertain; but we find him in England when happier destinies dawned upon the kingdom, as he certainly assisted in proclaiming through the city the accession of Elizabeth.⁴ Although so young, he was immediately fixed on by that discriminating queen as one of the Protestant noblemen whom she called to her privy council, to balance the influence of her Catholic advisers, as well as one of the four Protestant noblemen who assisted at the meetings of divines and men of learning, by whom the religious establishment of the country was remodelled. The Countess of Bedford was also retained at court as one of her ladies of honour;⁵ but this was a distinction which she did not enjoy many years, dying in 1561. The memory of her many virtues has been saved from oblivion by the Latin verses of Pietro Bizzari—an Italian writer of purity and elegance, at that time resident in England, who appears to

^{1 3} See Whetstone's poem "On the divine virtues of Francis, earl of Bedford," reprinted in the second volume of "Park's Heliconia."

² It is given by Fox, vol. iii. p. 266, and is addressed "To the Right Hon. Lord Russell, now Earl of Bedford, being then in trouble for the verity of God's Gospel."

⁴ Carte's England, vol. iii. p. 355.

⁵ Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 37.

A.D. 1557. have been received on a footing of some intimacy by the family of the Earl of Bedford, as he has addressed to the members of it no fewer than seven of his compositions.¹

The great success that crowned the queen's efforts for the re-establishment of the reformed religion, is mainly referable to the wise moderation which characterised her Protestant counsellors. She made no violent invasion on her sister's institutions, but dexterously managed for awhile to give hope to the Protestants by the extension of favour, whilst she kept the Catholics from despair, by tempering the acrimony of the disputants against them. From the step, indeed, which she put in her chapel to the elevation of the host, and her command that a portion of the public service should be read in English, the bishops early took alarm; but their opposition, manifested in a reluctance to officiate at her coronation, filled her with little anxiety. When the new parliament assembled, the ease with which a bill was passed for suppressing the newly founded monasteries, emboldened her to farther measures; and ere the session terminated, she saw her supremacy acknowledged, the statutes of King Edward VI. on religion all confirmed,

¹ They are printed by Aldus, in a little 12mo volume, entitled "*Petri Bizzari varia Opuscula.*" It is scarce; but is occasionally to be found in the catalogues of T. Thorpe; and is valuable from the tributes which it contains to various personages who at this time figured at the English and Scottish courts. The following is a version of his lines

On the Death of Margaret, Countess of Bedford.

No pearl, no brilliant from the main or mine,

In its pure lustre e'er could image thine!

In thee thy consort's virtues were combined,

The gentlest manners and the sweetest mind;

Birth, beauty, wit, integrity, and trust,—

So humbly holy, so devoutly just,

That, as on earth thou mov'dst in sunshine,—dead,

Stars form thy crown, and Heaven sustains thy tread.

his liturgy restored, mass abolished, and the nomination of A.D. 1558. bishops, without any intermediate election, vested in the crown. These great changes were carried into execution with but little difficulty; and on June 11, 1559, when the apostle's mass ceased for ever, and the English sermon at St. Paul's (which the Earl of Bedford, with many of the court, were observed to countenance with their presence), was delivered by Dr. Sandys,—a new era to the nation may be said to have commenced.

After thus serving the Protestant interests at home, the earl was sent upon some mission to the court of France. The object of this embassy has not transpired; but it probably concerned either a treaty of peace, or the assumption of the arms of England by the Dauphin Francis, and Mary, Queen of Scots. As the hostile views and ambition of the House of Guise became more obvious and decided, those pretensions awakened serious uneasiness. In France, Elizabeth's illegitimacy was publicly asserted, and it was known that the French cabinet only waited until the troubles in Scotland were appeased, to proclaim Mary's title to the crown of England; and by force of arms without, and the assistance of the Catholics within, to seat her on a throne which had not yet, they hoped, become firmly established. But the peril was foreseen, and averted with a decision as quick as the execution was admirable.

The progress of the reformation in Scotland furnished Elizabeth with materials for the stroke, as its factions afterwards disclosed to her ministers a secret for managing its court, unknown to, or unused by, former sovereigns. The Protestant nobility there, now distinguished by the name of the Congregation, were recently in arms against the queen-regent, for the vindication of their civil and

A.D. 1560. religious liberties ; but finding themselves too weak to carry Leith by siege, and that an overwhelming force against them was preparing by the princes of Lorraine, they applied to Elizabeth for succour and protection. She responded to the call. Her navy riding in the Forth saved Fife from pillage, and scared the French away from Stirling ; her arms under the Lord Grey de Wilton invested Leith ; the death of the queen-regent, treacherous in all her measures with the Protestant leaders, was followed by the capitulation of the French army ; and the treaty of Edinburgh, honourable to Elizabeth as it was advantageous to her Scotch allies, at once demonstrated the vigorous genius of her government, and presented it in an attitude equally impassive and triumphant.

In virtue of the treaty of Edinburgh, the fortifications at Leith and Aymouth were demolished, and the French army was withdrawn ; but the sixth article, acknowledging that the crowns of England and Ireland belonged of right to Elizabeth alone, and promising that Mary should in future abstain from using the titles, or bearing the arms of those kingdoms, was so distasteful to the house of Guise, that Francis and Mary refused to ratify the treaty, and received the parliamentary ambassador from Scotland, when he brought it them for signature, with studied disrespect. The death, however, of Francis in December, as it broke in a great measure the power of the princes of Lorraine, and rendered it necessary for Mary to leave France, inspired Elizabeth with hopes that it might now be ratified. She accordingly sent over the Earl of Bedford to congratulate Charles the Ninth on his accession, and to unite with Sir Nicholas Throgmorton in enforcing the recognition of this important stipulation. He arrived at Fontainebleau on the

16th of February, and both alone, and in conjunction with A.D. 1564. Throgmorton, in repeated interviews, solicited the Queen of Scots for this much-desired confirmation. But compliance was refused on various pleas; and the earl returned with no other satisfaction than that which arose from her consent to disuse the arms of England; Elizabeth, incensed at the refusal, denied the Scottish queen a safe conduct to her native land, and sent her dexterous and indefatigable agent Randolph to draw tighter her confederacy with the lords of the congregation.

After shedding her fond farewell tears to the gay court and the receding cliffs of France, Mary found herself once more in Scotland,—a young and inexperienced sovereign amidst a proud, a powerful, and turbulent nobility, a stern and uncompliant priesthood, and manners, customs, and observances, strange to and uncongenial with her own. Yet she was received on every hand with transport, admiration, and respect; and exercising much prudence in her choice of counsellors, and great forbearance in matters of religion, the first two years of her reign passed by in comparative tranquillity. The stage on which she trod was yet uncrossed by any of those phantom shapes which afterwards cast on her a shadow so appalling; when, by the death of the Lord Grey de Wilton, the Earl of Bedford received an appointment on the frontiers, which rendered him a witness and participant in some of the earlier transactions connected with her tragic fortunes.

The office assigned him was the governorship of Berwick, a town at all times of importance, from its situation in the marches, but particularly so under the existing relations and prospects of both kingdoms. He reached Berwick on the 29th of March, which he found, upon survey, of such

A.D. 1564. small strength, "that a man might, in a very short space, make as much in the plain field."¹ His first care, therefore, was to strengthen the works and fortifications; which being accomplished, he applied himself to the various other duties of his station, with an assiduity sufficiently attested by a very voluminous correspondence;² neglecting nothing that might tend to the security of the place, and frequently interposing his good offices with the council and the queen herself, for the benefit of poor persons of desert, and aged veterans of the garrison. The far-sightedness that influenced many of his arrangements may appear by what he writes on receiving tidings of the peace concluded by Sir Thomas Smith with France.

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

After my hearty commendations, what might be the chiefest cause of this bearer, Captain Reade's repaire unto you, I shall not now stand to declare by my letters; but as I have committed the whole matter to be by him reported to the queen's majesty, and to my lords of the council, so shall I pray you that he may do to you, because he is a sufficient and skilful person. I received yesterday your gentle letter, together with a book of Mr. Haddon's doing, and therein you write of the good conclusion of the peace, and the honourable and good reservations to her majesty of all her rights and titles, whereof, as I am very glad, so do I wish the long continuance of the same. And albeit it be good for all men, as a thing most necessary, yet cannot the goodness or certainty thereof cause me to cast aside the care of this my charge; but that I must now, for the discharge of my duty, and for her majesty's service, advertise that in time of peace it is good to provide for the wars; and now to make all things sure as much as may be, not as one that feareth more than needeth, but rather desireth things necessary, which I trust you will help us here to have. I find

¹ Letter to Q. Elizabeth, March 30.

² In the State Paper Office.

my lord warden and Sir Henry Percy very forward in all things, A.D. 1564. and I do use their advice and counsel as best may serve to do her majesty service. I go now shortly to Sir Henry Percy's, to christen him a child, and mean not to be absent hence above one night, his house being at Tynemouth beside Newcastle. Thus having at this present none other better matter, I do therefore, with most hearty thanks, bid you as myself farewell. From Berwick, this 27th of April, 1564.

Your assured friend,

F. BEDFORD.¹

In May, the earl held a day of truce with Cessford, the Scottish warden of the Middle Marches, for the redress of border grievances, and was gratified by a visit from Sir Gilbert Dethick, who brought him the ensigns of the order of the garter, the queen having on the 14th been pleased to direct his installation, Sir George Howard serving as his proxy.² As the autumn advanced, he was nominated by the queen a commissioner in the singular negotiation for the Scottish queen's marriage, which had now for two years been the subject of correspondence with both sovereigns; a correspondence in the course of which it is difficult to say, whether the policy of the queen or the jealousy of the woman most obviously characterised Elizabeth. She had succeeded in detaching Mary from the dangerous alliances proposed by Austria, Spain, and France, by promising herself to name a suitor who would be careful not to interrupt their friendship. This friendship Mary had the deepest interest in cultivating, yet she could not restrain some resentful expressions of offended pride, when she found that it was an inferior, not an equal, who was recommended

¹ Paper Office.

² Ashmole's Ord. of the Gart. pp. 302, 324-5, 378.

A.D. 1564. to her choice. Prudence, however, instructed her to throw no disrespect upon a nobleman who stood so high in the favour of the English queen as Lord Robert Dudley: she even sent Sir Robert Melville, in September, to avert the displeasure which Elizabeth had conceived from her late letters, and to learn the real meaning of the queen in thus proposing one whom it was imagined she herself affected; but to the project itself her mind was wholly adverse. She eagerly solicited the Earl of Lennox's return to Scotland, as well to prevent the prejudice that might result to her right of succession from any marriage which his son, Lord Darnley, a youth of royal blood, might contract in England, as from a desire to see how far the person of one who was generally regarded in England as the next heir to its crown after herself, might suit her own fancy for a husband. The clear-sighted Elizabeth penetrated her design; she smiled also to see her royal sister stoop at length to the thought of an alliance with an English subject; whether a Dudley or a Darnley were her choice, she trusted to exercise over him a guiding influence. Lennox was accordingly permitted to depart; but not without some warning from the Earl of Bedford to her ministers¹ of the apprehended consequences.

Upon Melville's being ushered to her presence, Elizabeth immediately asked him whether he brought an answer to the marriage overtures. With an easy unconcern, he an-

¹ "The Lord of Lennox is looked for in Scotland; for which purpose, I understand, his men have obtained the queen's majesty's letters to pass thither. I would wish that my lords and you there had consideration thereof; for what success will follow, and fall out thereupon, it is rather feared than well hoped of." — BEDFORD to CECIL, *May* 13.

swered, nay ; that his mistress scarcely thought of them ; but A.D. 1564. expected the promised coming of Bedford and Dudley on the borders. The queen, being somewhat piqued at the reply, observed, that he seemed to make but small account of the Lord Robert, in naming him after the earl, but that he should soon see the honours she designed for one whom she would herself have married, if she had not resolved to die a maiden. Her promise was no idle vaunt : on the 28th of the month, Dudley became Baron of Denbigh, and the next day Earl of Leicester. This step may have tended to remove some suspicions of Elizabeth's sincerity ; it is certain that Leicester's respectful protestation to Melville, " that he did not think himself worthy to wipe Mary's shoes, and had never entertained the aspiring thought of wedding her, which was a project of his enemies," flattered the high spirit of the Scottish queen, and induced her to regard him with more favourable sentiments. She appointed Maitland and Lethington, the principal directors of her affairs, her commissioners, to deliberate with Bedford and Randolph on the subject. They met at Berwick on the 18th of November, and were three days engaged upon the conference, the particulars of which are given in a long letter from the English commissioners to Elizabeth, upon the 23d. These had been instructed to promise the Scots' queen inviolable amity, perpetual peace, and assured hope of succession, as she should be declared the queen's adoptive sister by act of parliament, if she would consent to marry Leicester. The Scotch commissioners, who, to maintain their own power, were resolved by every means they could use to break off any match whatsoever, insisted that it stood not with their mistress's dignity, who had refused such noble offers, to marry a new-created earl upon hope only ; and demanded what dowry she was to

A.D. 1565. look for : upon this point no directions had been given, and the interview terminated with the promise of the Scottish ministers to report the conversations to their queen. The result was doubtlessly contemplated. Melville reported to his mistress that he found from Elizabeth "neither plain dealing, nor upright intention, but great dissimulation, envy, and fear:" and Camden says, that Leicester himself, flushed with the hope of obtaining the higher prize of Queen Elizabeth, gave Bedford secret warning that he wished him not to press the affair.¹ Thus there was a marriage treaty, proposed by one queen who dreaded its accomplishment; listened to by another who was secretly determined against it; and forbidden by the personage himself who was apparently most interested in its taking place. To terminate the comedy, Mary at last declared to Randolph, that upon the simple condition of her succession being publicly and explicitly acknowledged, she was willing and ready to close in with the proposal. But from this Elizabeth now attempted to recede: in the embarrassment of the retreat, Darnley obtained her permission to visit the Scottish court; and Mary, in the impetuosity of her fancy for his personal graces,² and anger at the ungenerous treatment to which she had been subjected, took the scissiors of the destinies into her own hand, and violently cut the knot of all these difficulties, disappointments, and manœuvres, by her resolved marriage with the son of Lennox.

Before this decisive step was irreparably taken, the Earl of Bedford obtained leave of the queen to come and pay his respects to her;³ and she appointed him to be at court by the

¹ Annals, p. 60.

² First seen by her at Wemys, in Fife, Feb. 19.

³ "I do understand (much to my comfort), how your majesty accepteth my good meaning in your service, and that it hath pleased you to grant me

Feast of St. George, the 23d of April. She was doubtless A.D. 1565.
desirous of his presence at the frequent deliberations of her council that were now held on the probable results of Darnley's exaltation. His desire to have his friend Sir William Cecil's advice on his intended journey¹ implies some apprehension of danger either to his own credit, or embarrassment at court, amidst the increasing factions of Leicester and Sussex, or to his charge itself, if the visit were deferred, in the threatening prospect of affairs; for the nobles of Scotland were forming into factions, on the purposed marriage,—Murray, Châtelrault, Argyle, and the lords of the congregation anticipating persecution and the overthrow of their religion, from Darnley's inclination to the Romish faith, and Mary's known approval of those foreign councils which urged her to use violence in establishing the ancient worship. Even now some of those animosities were at work which afterwards burst out into such troubled action. Bothwell, who had threatened to slay Lethington and Murray, was indeed in exile; but Lennox, though owing his recall and subsequent restoration of estate to the co-operation of Murray and his friends, was busy in intrigues against his power and credit; the old feud of the Hamiltons and Lennox was scarred over, not healed; and Rizzio, the Piedmontese, was in such pride of influence with the queen as to be courted on all sides by

your license to come up to do my duty to your highness, which I mean to do soon after Easter."—*Letter to Queen Elizabeth*, March 21.

¹ He despatched his servant Lilgrave purposely to learn it, April 6; and writes again upon the 8th: "I pray you let me hear from you what you think thereof; for rather than I would have her majesty to be moved herein, or that it should be thought much that I should send to know, I would leave all, after all things of my charge put in order, and forthwith come away. And if I thought there would be any stay made of my coming, I would rather take this occasion now offered; for (besides) having so great desire to do my duty to her majesty, there is some particular business of mine own, for the which I must come."

A.D. 1565. such as had suits at law to be decided, or foes at court to be eclipsed,—even the eminence which Darnley was upon the point of winning, was reached through his assistance. Already had he found himself the mark of envy and hatred; of the indignant nobles some were wont to frown upon him, others “to shoulder him and shoot him by,” when they entered the apartment of the queen: so that, wanting not at times his own fears of the future, he once lamented his situation to Sir James Melville, and asked him his advice. Melville gave it; but finding him afterwards bent on pursuing his own course, and foreseeing his ruin inevitable, he ventured to remonstrate with the queen herself, in virtue of a request which she condescended to make him when she first entered Scotland. He laid before her his conjectures on the consequences of too public a display of favour to Rizzio, a stranger, the pope’s known minion and suspected pensioner; declaring that it would assuredly fill the minds of her Protestant subjects with alarming apprehensions of secret designs, and drive the affronted nobles to conspire his ruin. He reminded her of Chatelard, who perished as well from her too great affability as his own imprudence; inculcated the necessity of strict circumspection whilst she was surrounded by so much suspicion and mistrust; and stated, in conclusion, that hearts once lost were recovered but with difficulty. Mary insisted, in reply, that the Italian was concerned only in her French affairs, as was her former secretary, and that she should not but dispense her favours as she pleased; yet she thanked him for his counsel and his loyal care. It is interesting to know that she possessed at least one faithful adviser about her person.

The Earl of Bedford meanwhile took his journey shortly after Easter. He was present at the council, May the 1st,

when it was resolved by the majority to disallow the marriage; A.D. 1565. and at that more summary consultation on the 4th of June, when two grave questions were seriously discussed; first, of the perils that might ensue upon the match; and second, on the best means to avoid or to remedy them. It was urged that a great number in England, not of the worst subjects, might, if the marriage took place, be alienated from Elizabeth, to favour all practices that should tend to the advancement of the Queen of Scots; that the alliance, furthered chiefly by Catholics, was the only means left to restore the religion of Rome; and that therefore the Catholics in both realms would abet the alliance, disturb the English government, and, rather than fail, achieve their purposes by force. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had already apprised them by his despatch, the 21st of May, that the union could be barred only by force, and this Elizabeth resolved to attempt. It was accordingly resolved that the Earl of Bedford should instantly return to Berwick; that its works should be advanced, its garrison increased, and preparations there be made of forces for invasion; that a lieutenant-general should be appointed for the north; and that the wardens of the marches should put their frontiers in order, to be ready for movement at an hour's warning; whilst the Lady Lennox was put in ward, the earl and his son recalled, and their lands confiscated upon refusal.

Mary, however, completed her marriage before all these dispositions could be put in force. The particulars of it are given with great liveliness by Randolph, who, though he was not, he says, an *oculatus testis*, had them all from most assured authority.¹

¹ See it in Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. App. No. xi.

A.D. 1565.

The Earl of Bedford arrived at Berwick on the 20th, but nine days before the marriage. He learned on his arrival that the Earls of Murray and Argyle, with other nobles of their party, and the preachers of the kirk, had made a declaration on the dangers menacing their faith, and that both factions were fast tending to extremities, hurried on by mutual alarm, and, on one side at least, by passions of a darker stamp; that Darnley had formed a plot to assassinate the Earl of Murray, which the latter, having avoided it, repaid by a subsequent design to seize the person of Darnley, and to send him captive into England. It was under the apprehension excited by this project that the Scottish queen, by proclamation, required all her faithful lords and vassals to attend her on the 20th at Edinburgh, in arms. Her popularity at this period, through the wise administration of the Earl of Murray, is represented to have been such, that she found her call replied to with alacrity; as, besides her other nobles, Hume, Cessford, and the rest of the border chieftains brought their clans up to her aid; under the favour of whose bills and spears she first celebrates her marriage, and then takes vengeance on the disaffected lords.

These had met at Stirling on the 17th for deliberation; they saw the popular feeling favouring the queen so strongly, that they were contented to appeal for protection to Elizabeth, after which they separated, and returned to Fifeshire. But Mary, finding herself so well supported, was not disposed to remain passive: the services which she had received from Murray were cancelled in her mind by his opposition to her nuptials; and the resentment of her husband added keenness to her own. She cited him accordingly to appear before her upon pain of rebellion and escheat; set loose upon him out of prison his enemy Lord Gordon; and called forth from his

abode over the sea the spirit of his fiercer foe, Earl Bothwell. A.D. 1565. On the 6th of August, she denounced him and his contumacious friends as rebels; and issued orders to her vassals to march with fire and sword against them from all parts of the realm. The confederates attempted, but in vain, to raise sufficient forces in defence; with infinitely fewer numbers they retreated first into Argyleshire; and then, after issuing a manifesto protesting that it was for their religion that they struck, retreated upon Dumfries. There, being within easy reach of the English pale, the pursuit of them was terminated; but their castles being seized, their lands under confiscation, denounced as traitors, and unsupported by the people, they had little to sustain their spirits but their cause, and the hope of sympathy and aid from England.

Elizabeth meanwhile had not slackened in her show of umbrage: she wished, on account of Mary's claim to the succession and intrigues amongst her subjects, to convey a due impression of her inward strength and the general dislike of her subjects to papistry and to a papal marriage. The resolutions of her council were accordingly carried into full effect. She sent Tamworth with her letters of remonstrance to the Scottish court; and made him, at the same time, the bearer of a commission, constituting Bedford lord lieutenant of the border counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, with instructions to increase the security of Berwick, to preserve peace, and yet to have all things in readiness for war. The earl immediately applied to the Earl of Shrewsbury for a levy of two thousand men from his lieutenancy of Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Derby; and held a general assembly of the wardens and other officers at Morpeth, where he opened his commission, and instructed them in their respective parts. There were present at this meeting,

A.D. 1565, amongst others, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Scroop, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir John Forster. Their military movements excited the desired alarm; so that the earl, upon the 5th of August, tells Sir William Cecil "that they talked already in Scotland of refortifying Aymouth," which was forbidden by the treaty, a measure which he was resolved, if possible, to prevent. Like eagles expectant of the coming battle, the borderers were already stirred up from their holds, the marchmen in both kingdoms carrying off their goods into the inland country. The Elwoods or Elliots, a Scotch clan, had also made maraud in their own marches, burning Hawick, and committing other acts of rapine and congenial enterprise. This clan, the earl suggests, might, in case of necessity, do good service,—that a hundred marks bestowed upon their chieftain, Martin Elwood, "a very wise and stout fellowe,"¹ would keep them long together, even if Bothwell, their lieutenant, should appear; whilst means might be found to divert any forces sent against them, without doing prejudice to either of the great parties under arms.

¹ Bedford to Cecil, August 5. The earl adds: "I kept Mr. Tamworth here half a day, because I looked to hear somewhat that might fall out upon the understanding of Darnley's proclaiming king; but this morning he is gone, and this day at noon I received the queen's letters to him of the 1st of this present. I looked to have heard from you somewhat touching Darnley, and what I should do to such persons as come in his name, or with such letters as he should direct; but I hear nothing as yet. The days of truce I must keep still, and am certified they shall be kept in the queen's name, and not in his, for else I will not come at them." The truce-day appears to have been held soon after, as he writes on the 18th,—"I hear out of Scotland, albeit it came not from Mr. Randolph, that both the Lord Hume and the Lord of Cessford were checked and taunted at the king and queen's hands for not making the proclamation at their last days of truce in his name also. At the time appointed for the next truce-days, either we shall not meet as full, or if we do, I will provide so as to make our party as good as theirs, come if they will."

Of the rapid movements of the insurgent lords, the earl received but interrupted intelligence. Before the advance from Argyleshire, the Earl of Glencairn sent one of his gentlemen to request that no ill opinion might be entertained of him, though he were not yet with Murray, as he was of the same mind, and would defend the Gospel. "To whom," he says, "I made not many words, but said I hoped he would do like a good Gospeller, who had so long continued therein, and whom all that knew him conceived well of; for now, I said, I thought religion there was quite overthrown, except it were now holpen; and so we ended with other talk, and I gave him thanks for his pains." The object of the messenger was probably to ascertain what support the congregation was likely to receive in this juncture from the English queen. Glencairn joined Murray in the western lowlands; but the Earl of Bedford was yet unprovided with any instructions as to the countenance he should lend to the insurgents. Before the end of August, he was apprised of the disastrous results by letters from the Earl of Murray asking aid. His deep interest in the cause of which they were the guardians, is obvious from the following intercession in their favour:—

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

After my hearty commendations, this day at noon Captain Brickwell came hither, who brought with him the queen's majesty's letters, containing her full resolution and pleasure for all things he had in charge to give information of, saving that for the aid of the lords of the congregation there is nothing determined, or at the least expressed in the same letters; and for that purpose received I, this morning, a letter subscribed by the Duke (Châtelrault), the Earl of Murray, Glencairn, and others, craving to be holpen with 300 harquebusiers out of this garrison for their better defence. And albeit I know right well the goodness of their cause, and the

A.D. 1565. queen's majesty our sovereign's good will and care towards them ; and do also understand that it were very requisite to have them holpen, for that now their cause is to be in this manner decided, and that it now standeth upon their utter overthrow and undoing, since the queen's part is at the least 5000, and they not much above 1000 ; besides that the queen hath harquebusiers, and they have none, and do yet want the power that the Earl of Argyle should bring to them, who is not yet joined with theirs,—I have thereupon thought good to pray you to be a means to learn her majesty's pleasure in this behalf, what and how I shall answer them, or otherwise deal in this matter, now at this their extreme necessity. For, on the one side, lieth thereupon their utter ruin and overthrow, and the miserable subversion of religion there ; and, on the other side, to adventure so great and weighty a matter as this is (albeit it be but of a few soldiers for a small time), without good warrant, and thereby to bring peradventure upon our heads some wilful wars, and in the meantime to leave the place unfurnished (having in the whole but 800), without any grant of new supply for the same ; and by that means also to leave the marches here the more subject to invasion, while, in the mean season, new helps are preparing,—to this know not I what to say, or how to do. And so much more marvel I thereof, as that having so many times written touching this matter, no resolute determination cometh. And so between the writing and looking for answer, the occasion cannot pass, but must needs proceed, and have success. God turn it to his glory ! but surely all men's reason hath great cause to fear it. Such a push it is now come unto, as this little supply would do much good to advance God's honour, to continue her majesty's great and careful memory of them, and to preserve a great many noblemen and gentlemen. If it be not now holpen, it is gone for ever. Your good will and affection that way I do nothing mistrust, and herein I shall take such good advice as by any means I can. I received from these lords two papers enclosed, the effect whereof shall appear unto you. For those matters that Captain Brickwell brought, I shall answer you by my next ; and herewith I send you two letters from Mr. Randolph, both received this day. By him you shall hear that the Protestants are retired from Edinburgh further off. So, as I hope your resolution for their

aid shall come in time, if it come with speed, for that they will not A.D. 1565.
now so presently need them. And so with my hearty thanks I
commit you to God. From Berwick, this 2d of Sept. 1565.

F. BEDFORD.¹

On the receipt of this and similar letters there were great debates in the council, and much difference of opinion on the policy to be observed: some contended for rendering the lords aid openly, some secretly, and others for leaving them wholly unassisted. Elizabeth could neither abandon them to their fate, nor countenance the example furnished by their insurrection; neither was she disposed to break the peace of the two kingdoms, which might embroil her with her own subjects, as well as with some foreign states. Yet the steadiness with which they had acted up to the spirit as well as letter of the treaty of Berwick, by cultivating amity with England, and the cause to which they were linked, although she could not but be sensible that many private aims tempered their religious motives, powerfully appealed to her. She allowed the Earl of Bedford to send them some slight succour; but restricted it solely to purposes of defence; and, as Mary had given protection to some English fugitives, she permitted him to give them an asylum on her borders, if their personal safety should be in any peril. She also interposed with the Scottish queen in their behalf; but her reply to the earl's letter best explains her policy.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.²

Upon the advertisements lately received from you, with such other things as came also from the Lord Scroop and Thomas Randolph, and upon the whole matter well considered, we have

^{1 2} Border Papers. State Paper Office.

A.D. 1565. thus determined. We will, with all the speed that we can, send to you 3000*l.* to be thus used. If you shall certainly understand that the Earl of Murray hath such want of money, as the impresting to him of 1000*l.* might stand him in stead for the help to defend himself, you shall presently let him secretly to understand that you will, as of yourself, let him have so much; and so we will that you let him have, in the most secret sort that you can, when the said sum shall come to you; or, if you can by any good means, advance him some part thereof beforehand.

The other 2000*l.* you shall cause to be kept whole, unspent, if it be not that you shall see necessary cause to imprest some part thereof to the new numbers of the 600 footmen and 100 horsemen; or to the casting out of wages of such workmen, as by sickness or otherwise ought to be discharged. And where we perceive, by your sundry letters, the earnest request of the said Earl of Murray and his associates, that they might have at the least 300 of our soldiers to aid them; and that you also write, that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing herein, and seem to blame you for attempting such things, as you with the help of others should bring about, you doubt not but things would do well; you shall understand for a truth that we have no intention, for many respects, to maintain any other prince's subjects to take arms against their sovereign; neither would we willingly do any thing to give occasion to make wars betwixt us and that prince, which hath caused us to forbear hitherto to give you any power to let them be aided with any men.

But now considering, we take it, that they are pursued notwithstanding their humble submission and offer to be ordered and tried by law and justice,—which being refused to them, they are retired to Dumfries, a place near our west marches, as it seemeth there to defend themselves,—and adding thereunto the good intention that presently the French king pretendeth, by sending one of his to join with some one of ours, and jointly to treat with that queen, and to induce her to forbear this manner of violent and rigorous proceeding against her subjects; for which purpose the French ambassador here with us hath lately written to that queen, whereof answer is daily looked for,—to the intent in the mean

time the said lords should not be oppressed and ruined, for lack of A.D. 1565. some help to defend them, we are content, and do authorise, if you shall see it necessary for their defence, to let them (as of your own adventure, and without notifying that you have any direction therein from us), to have the number of 300 soldiers, to be taken either in whole bands, or to be drawn out of all your bands, as you shall see cause. And to cover the matter the better, you shall send these numbers to Carlisle, as to be laid there in garrison, to defend that march, now in this time that such powers are on the other part drawing to those frontiers; and so from thence as you shall see cause to direct of, the same numbers, or any of them, may most covertly repair to the said lords, whom you shall expressly advertise that you send them that aid only for their defence, and not therewith to make war against the queen, or to do any thing that may offend her person; wherein you shall so precisely deal with them, that they may perceive your care to be such as, if it should otherwise appear, your danger should be so great as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us. And so we assure you our conscience moveth us to charge you so to proceed with them; for otherwise than to preserve them from ruin, we do not yield to give them aid of money or men. And yet we would not that either of these were known to be our act, but rather to be covered with your own desire and attempt.

The queen's apparent apathy in their behalf excited the displeasure of the associated lords; and Argyle resented it so highly, that he absolutely refused, in the succeeding year, to assist her against O'Neale in Ireland; a refusal which it required all the eloquence of Murray and the Laird of Grange to overcome. Their state in the beginning of October is thus described:—

TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

After my hearty commendations to your good lordship, the last letter was sent to the lords, who received the same. The Earl of Murray, above all the rest, seemeth best to continue a

A.D. 1565. good opinion of us, notwithstanding he thinketh that our aid might here before now have in much better sort appeared unto them; and they think they have gone too far, and trusted us too much. They see now no other way but by their flight to provide for themselves; whither or where, are divers opinions amongst them. The duke would over into Germany or Italy; the Earl of Murray sticketh only to our country, and meaneth shortly to come to me, whom I will receive, and aid all that I can.

They are of no force, and still grow weaker; our aid they have already will do them small pleasure or good to encounter with the queen; and she will hear of no peace, but will have either the duke, or the Earl of Murray's head. The Countess of Murray is upon her coming to Berwick, to be there delivered of child. The Earl Bothwell hath wrought sore with the Elwoods to call them to him; but my lord warden here of the middle marches hath deserved great thanks for keeping them as still as he will. And this being all that at this time I have to say, with my most hearty thanks I commit your lordship to God. From Alnwick, this 5th of October, 1565.¹

Your lordship's right assured

F. BEDFORD.

It was but two days after the date of this despatch that Mary marched from Edinburgh towards Dumfries, eighteen thousand strong; a force which it would have been folly in the lords to have encountered. At her approach they accordingly disbanded all their soldiery, and took refuge within the English pale. They were received with great kindness by the Earl of Bedford at Carlisle, who neglected nothing that could soothe their personal misfortunes. After being richly entertained for some days in that city, they removed to Newcastle, whence they shortly despatched the Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning to the English court.

¹ Harl. MSS. 787, a 15.

Suspected as Elizabeth was by the French and Spanish ambassadors of kindling these disturbances in Scotland, their presence caused the Queen of England no trifling embarrassment. She received the two delegates with a duplicity and ill-treatment which no considerations can excuse. So very unwelcome was their visit, that Bedford himself was blamed by Cecil for permitting the intrusion. The watchful Leicester, in rivalry of the latter, seems to have been bent on improving this little incident in his own favour, as we find it was through him that Bedford vindicated himself, and in a tone of some dissatisfaction. A.D. 1565.

TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

After my most heartiest commendations to your good lordship, I received now lately from you a most friendly, honourable, and gentle letter, of the 20th of this present, containing very good and necessary advice for these times. I most heartily thank your good lordship for the same; and if I could tell or devise which way to become more bound unto you than already I am, I would not let to confess and acknowledge the same. But this to be said for all, that I am your lordship's as assured as you desire.

The queen's majesty, as appeareth by her majesty's letters, is offended at the Earl of Murray's coming up, which, as I wrote to you and others, I could not withstand without force, for persuasions nor dissuasions would not serve; and I had no commandment from her majesty to stay him here, no more have I to stay the other lords and the rest, if they were disposed to return home. And how I shall deal in these cases I know not; for thinking to do the best, it is so misliked, and almost nothing well taken that I do. I shall therefore keep myself within the compass of the commission I have, or shall have from time to time, and will not henceforth be so forward, but will be rather slow; for I see it is all one; yet more thanks me seemeth hath the one than the other.

I am advertised, four or five ways, that the Scottish queen

A.D. 1565. meaneth to take Aymouth, and that even shortly. I have written heretofore that it hath been often viewed, and now I write that it will be fortified. That queen sendeth men to divers places, as to Kelso four hundred, to Hume Castle fifty harquebusiers, and yet cannot we be persuaded that the queen meaneth wars, because we mean peace. How peace will follow upon such prognostications of wars, I cannot conceive, nor it will not sink into my head. I have heard the old borderers say, that the Scots were ever those that broke the peace and set upon the wars, either by stealing or open violence. And because they be, of an old custom, the first and ever aforehand with us, we are loath to break them of the same; for we never stir till we have received too much injury, or else feel it smart too sore. I would be as glad of a good and assured peace as any other, and as much I have done to preserve the same. These news I hear of Aymouth come from the borderers here, who, albeit they hear somewhat from other places, yet by my next I shall tell you more certainly how all things thereabouts will frame. And so for this time I rest

Your lordship's most assured

F. BEDFORD.¹

From Berwick, this 26th of Oct. 1565.

This correspondence, however, with the Earl of Leicester, was not restricted merely to political intelligence. Overtures of marriage had been made to Anne, the Earl of Bedford's eldest daughter, by Leicester's brother, Ambrose Dudley, a nobleman of unblemished character, and whose reputation owed none of its effect to the arts or the intrigues in which Leicester was so deeply implicated. The Lord Ambrose had naturally associated with his father, the late Duke of Northumberland, in the exaltation of Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey; he had been in consequence attainted, and received sentence of death; but this penalty was commuted

¹ Harl. MSS. 787, a 86.

for imprisonment in the Tower. Pardoned at length by A.D. 1565. Mary, he served her husband at the battle of St. Quintin's; and, before the accession of Elizabeth, obtained by act of parliament the restitution of his estates. The smiles which this queen lavished upon Leicester were reflected in a safer radiance upon him. He received a royal grant of lands in Leicestershire, was made for term of life master of the ordnance, then baron of Kingston-Lisle, in Berkshire, and subsequently Earl of Warwick. During the recent wars in France between the Catholics and Huguenots, when the latter placed in the queen's hands the important port of Havre, she appointed Warwick her lieutenant there, with a garrison of three thousand men. His admirable conduct well justified her choice. The influence of his vigilance and measures was felt in every part of Normandy, until he was ungenerously deserted by the Protestants. Besieged in garrison by the Connétable de Montmorenci, he defended his charge in the midst of many hardships with unshrinking resolution, nor did he render it at last but at Elizabeth's especial order, and on the most honourable conditions. It was during the siege of Havre that the queen addressed to him that affectionate laconic note, in which she protests, that for the presence of so faithful a servant, she would willingly part with her most needful finger, and would rather drink out of an ashen cup than that he should fail of succour.

Of the personal accomplishments of his intended bride, some opinion may be formed from the high eulogium paid to her in a Latin ode of considerable beauty, written in apparent anticipation of her marriage, by the same Pietro Bizzari of whom mention has been made: the following is a version of it.

A.D. 1565.

TO THE LADY ANNE RUSSELL.

O quàm felicem poterit se dicere natum !

O to how blest a lot is he commended,
Who, winning thee, with virtue will embrace
A form like Helen's, by delight attended,
And tender love, and every virgin grace,—
Thee, o'er whose cheek ingenuous honour throws
Her exquisitest rose !

Though thine be genius, thou dost deign to cherish
Genius with care—with many-languaged powers
Reaping the spoils of deeds that ne'er shall perish,
Speeding with lyre or lute the' enchanted hours,
Or broidering webs whose beauty well might dare
Arachne to despair !

Why should I say with what refined discreetness
Thy converse teems ? Why speak thy charming voice ?
Thy gaze—thy steps—thy smile so full of sweetness—
Or thrilling dance, if dancing be thy choice ?
Why speak of aught, when all thou say'st and dost
Is beautiful and just !

Rich is thy dower indeed, beyond the glory
Of gold or gem—a dowry which we trace
From both thy parents ; for can British story
Vaunt in its page a more illustrious race
Than theirs, or one with equal sanctitude
Celestially endued ?

Like to a radiant star or splendent jewel,
With every virtue clustering round her here,
Thy mother shone—why did the Fates, too cruel,
Snatch her so soon, so swiftly from her sphere,
In the full lustre of her charms—the hour
Of her ascendant power ?

A.D. 1565

Methinks that Heaven beheld our valleys lighten
With a resplendence too much like its own,
And hence transferred her to the skies, to brighten
The happy hosts that gird the immortal throne ;
Where now, before her sheen the Pleiads fail,
And Hesperus grows pale !

Still lives thy generous sire, by none transcended,
Scarcely e'en equalled ; whether at the call
Of war he toils in arms, or rests attended
By peace and wisdom in his happy hall :
Ye white-winged powers that prompt the poet's song,
Guard well his virtues long !

But blest, thrice blest, beyond a mortal's measure,
With whom thy web, fair maid, must be enwove ;
Ah, may he prove like thee, and crown thy pleasure
With the full luxury of concordant love !
Come, Hymen, come, and with thy vestal flame
The' auspicious hour proclaim !

Come—for the summer fruit is ripe, and single
She must no more remain ; their hands unite,
Their glowing hopes, their hearts, their homes commingle,—
Birth, virtue, beauty, all await the rite,—
Come ! and erewhile may little footsteps shed
Joy round her bridal bed !

The nuptials of such a personage were not likely to pass unhonoured : the queen condescended to take a lively interest in them, and to grace with her presence the tournaments that were held in their celebration. Diversions of this nature had ceased to be accompanied with the same attributes of splendour that adorned the pageants in which her father took a part : yet a sketch of the ceremony, and of the feats of arms that followed, will not be destitute of

A.D. 1565. interest; though it might be wished that the old narrator of the scenes had expended some portion of the description which he has lavished on the caparisons and dresses, upon the incidents of the tourney.

The Margrave of Baden and Cecilia his lady had reached the British shores in August, on a visit to the queen. They were lodged, whilst they remained in England, at the Earl of Bedford's house, where the Margravine, four days after her arrival, gave birth to a prince, which the queen herself at the baptism was pleased to name Edvardus Fortunatus. A grand supper followed, on the churching day, at which Elizabeth and the principal personages of her court were guests. The banquet being over, proclamation of the intended jousts was made in the following style.

The York herald, in his surcoat of arms, entered the apartment, and declared that there was a messenger arrived from some foreign country, with a message to her majesty and the honourable princess there; the queen commanded him to be ushered in. This the herald did with a trumpet three times sounding, and Edwards of the chapel entered, as the post, in boots and spurs, and kneeling down before the queen, apprised her that four strange knights would, at the marriage of the Lord Ambrose and the Lady Anne, hold joust, tourney, and barriers, if it pleased her and the Margravine to give the looking on. Her assent being yielded, to answer the challenge came Robert Earl of Leicester, Henry Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke, Arthur Lord Grey, and twenty other gentlemen.

These preliminaries past, the nuptial-day was fixed for the eleventh of November.

On the morning of that day, the Lady Anne Russell,

lying in the palace of Westminster, came from her chamber A.D. 1563. and went to the queen's great closet, conducted by the Earls of Oxford and Rutland, preceded by various lords and gentlemen, and followed as well by the queen's maids of honour; dressed all in yellow satin, guarded with green velvet and laid on with silver lace, as by numerous young gentlemen. The bride herself, we are told, was apparelled in a kirtle of cloth of silver mixed with blue, a gown of purple velvet embroidered about with silver, and a caul of gold upon her head,—her train borne by Katharine, daughter of Sir Francis Knowles, vice-chamberlain.

When she was come to the closet, the lords returned, and brought the bridegroom, who was apparelled in a gown of purple velvet, furred with sables, and embroidered with gold: he was followed by the Earl of Leicester, in a gown of purple satin, with a broad guard of gold embroidered. After they were both in the closet, the lords went for the queen, who came attended by her nobility, and the marriage ceremony was performed; the Earl of Leicester, in her father's absence, giving away the bride. After the wedding the service followed; which being over, the earl came first forth, and after him the bride, led by the Earl of Pembroke, and Clinton, lord high admiral. The queen returned from the closet, and the bridal party dined in the council chamber, "at a long board well set with lords and ladies," the apartment gorgeously hung with the very richest arras.

On the afternoon of the same day, and, in greater solemnization of the marriage, for the two succeeding days, were held the jousts, the tourney, and the barriers; the gentlemen challengers being Mr. Henry Knowles, Mr. Christopher Hatton, Mr. Thomas Leighton, and Mr. Robert Colsett, and the challenge lying against all comers. The

A.D. 1565. queen being come into her gallery with her guest, Edwards, with a trumpet, rose to know whether the strangers might come forward and do their endeavour. Assent being given, the challengers came from the Queen's Mews in order.

First were seen their trumpeters, with banners of their colours, white, and red, and black; next, Sir Adrian Poynings, his horse trapped with a rich gilt barb of steel, and himself armed in like manner, his vizor open, as patron to Mr. Knowles, with a plume of feathers, red, white, and black; then the horse of Mr. Knowles, caparisoned of crimson satin; on the same a wreath of white and black sarsnet, made in manner of lozenges, and in every lozenge a rased staff of white tinsel sarsnet; his base of the same sort. After him an Amazon, with long hair hanging down to her sandals, apparelled in a tunic, with long sleeves of crimson satin, wrought and garnished as above, with a sword by her side, and on her face a vizor: her horse's caparison was of white tinsel sarsnet, laid with black wreaths lozenge-wise, and in every lozenge a red rose of tinsel sarsnet; in her hand a target of her master's arms. Then came a spare horse, with a caparison of black tinsel sarsnet, with lozenge wreaths of white, and in every lozenge a branch of red acorns.

Second came Sir Henry Gates, as patron to Mr. Leighton, armed, and his horse barbed as was Sir Adrian Poynings's; then Leighton himself, full furnished as was Mr. Knowles; after him his Amazon, with the target of his arms; and after the Amazon, the like spare horse.

Third Mr. George, in fashion like Sir Adrian, came as patron to Mr. Hatton; after him his Amazon; and after the Amazon the spare horse. And lastly, Mr. Francis

Horsey, preceding Mr. Robert Colsett; after him his Amazon and his spare horse; and the four challengers had all their bases, horses, and Amazons alike. A.D. 1565.

When these had environed the tilt, they took the upper end next to the queen, and their targets were fastened upon four posts under her window. Then came the defendants from Durham Place, the Earl of Leicester's house. And first the trumpets, with yellow scarfs of sarsnet; then various gentlemen, as well pensioners as others; then the officers of arms, except Garter, wearing the queen's coat of arms, with similar scarfs. Lastly (for pleasure, not as a defendant), the Margrave of Baden, followed by the Earl of Leicester, his base and caparison of purple cloth of tissue; which bases in one of the courses falling to the ground, and so becoming the heralds' fees, the earl had them again, and sent the heralds twenty nobles. He was succeeded by the rest of the defendants singly, one after the other, in their due degree.

The time did not suffice for all the defendants to run the first day; but they that ran not this day, ran the next, and came to the tilt in all points as before. Twilight falling, after many gallant feats had been performed, they departed, first the challengers, and then the defendants; and upon this day those that had previously run, whilst the rest went armed, wore no armour but their collars.

On the third day the queen came to her gallery about two in the afternoon, and the four challengers advanced with the same ceremony as on former days, but preceded this time by the earl bridegroom, horsed, armed, and appointed as the others, who, when the defendants were arrived, ran himself one spirited course with Mr. Mark-

A.D. 1565. ham, and tourneyed no more. Now each gentleman should have struck four strokes at passage, and so joined ; but for want of time they struck only two. And at this tourney Mr. Makewilliam was overthrown, horse and all, by Mr. Knowles ; in consequence of which his horse and harness were fee to the officers of arms, and were so adjudged by the earl marshal and the judges ; but as the gentleman had, together with the rest, furnished himself for the tilt, and had come in his company, the Earl of Leicester would not suffer him to be at charge, but redeemed the horse and harness for the sum of twenty pounds. And generally the bases, feathers, helmets, or whatever else fell to the ground, were pronounced fees to the officers of arms, and were redeemed according to the usages of olden time. After all had tourneyed, they departed in the order of the previous days ; and the Earl of Leicester shut up the three days' entertainments by a gorgeous banquet at his house of Durham Place.¹

The lord bridegroom having been disabled from rendering the queen any farther active service, by a wound received from a poisoned bullet in his leg whilst governor of Havre, the ill effects of which he continued to feel at intervals until his death, was attached by a situation of honour to the court ; and his lady, who before her marriage had been one of the maids of honour to Elizabeth, remained still in attendance on her person ; where she acquired by degrees so much of the queen's confidence, as to be reputed her chief female favourite ; yet the influence which she came to possess was exercised for none but virtuous and amiable purposes—the promotion of merit, the reconcilia-

¹ Leland, Collec. vol. ii. p. 666.

tion of court-rivals, and the protection of those poorer clients, A.D. 1565. whose appeals for justice in the precincts of a palace are so much in danger of becoming fruitless without the good offices of such a mediator.

This union had scarcely been completed, ere a second, for the promotion of the Earl of Bedford's interests, was set on foot by Leicester, who knew no cool medium in either his friendships or resentments. He insinuated to Henry, earl of Cumberland, how desirable a prize the hand of Bedford's youngest daughter would prove, in after-years, for his son the young Lord Clifford; and the suggestion, though the latter party was yet but seven years old, and the Lady Margaret Russell two years younger, was received by the earl with so much satisfaction, that immediate overtures were made. He appointed Viscount Montague, and his own lady's brother, Leonard Dacres, to settle the preliminary articles, in conjunction with two others to be nominated by Bedford, and sent his kinsman, Sir Gervase Clifton, to visit and observe what promise the unconscious little object of these bridal schemes might give to a fond father's hopes. For a youngest daughter, the connexion with a titled heir of such high expectations as Lord Clifford, was probably deemed highly advantageous; and Leicester himself undertook to gain Elizabeth's consent. If the choice of the Earl of Cumberland for his son had been purely spontaneous, it could not have settled upon a more admirable woman than the Lady Margaret afterwards became, nor one more fitted by her mild and modest virtues to enhance the quiet pleasures of domestic life. With what real happiness to the parties most interested this match of others was attended, will presently appear. On the death of the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Bedford

A.D. 1566. obtained, by application to the queen, the wardship of his son, which gave him every means for carrying the arrangement into effect.

But at Berwick the earl's public occupations proceeded not so smoothly. The English queen, to accommodate the differences between her and Mary, had, before December, accredited Sir Walter Mildmay to the Scottish court, with instructions to qualify more to Mary's mind the sixth article of the contested treaty; but circumstances arising to prevent his journey, the commission was transferred to the Earl of Bedford and his fellow-warden, Sir John Forster. Mary appointed the Laird of Cessford and Earl Bothwell to manage the conference on her part—an appointment that gave but scanty promises of good; for the power which Bothwell possessed as her lieutenant on the marches, was constantly exercised either on private feuds, or in provoking dissension and hostilities between the two realms. Randolph plainly told the Scottish queen, that he was a person hated by his mistress, as being known to have no inclination for peace; so that what benefit could result from the appointment he left her to decide. Mary refused, however, to make any modification of her choice; saying, that against Bedford also she could justly make exception. For Cessford, against whose reluctance to check the disorders of his marchmen the earl had recently remonstrated, had prepossessed her with the opinion that these had arisen solely from Bedford's delay in keeping days of truce; and his representations found a ready credence, when it was known that the Earl of Sutherland, whom she had sent for out of Flanders, to strengthen her party, was detained a prisoner at Berwick; and when the report came that Colwick, Bedford's deputy, had declared to the corresponding officer of Lord Home, that if that laird, or any of his people, should

serve the queen against the insurgent nobles, the earl his master would, with his whole forces, fall upon the Merse with fire and sword. The queen, resenting these indignities, sent Sir Andrew Kerr to Berwick, to require a satisfactory explanation of these passages, and to demand the liberation of Sutherland. Bedford justified his detention of this personage upon the plea that certain English pirates were harboured and protected upon Scottish ground ; and before any understanding could be come to upon Colwick's menace, fresh troubles and disputes arose. According to Mary's account, eight hundred Englishmen had come to Edington and Chyrnside, villages near Berwick, and had there committed slaughter, taking prisoners and prey. The inroad being complained of to Bedford, the earl took the occurrence instantly upon himself, and avowed it to be done by his command. A messenger was therefore sent to narrate the circumstance to Elizabeth, and to pray her to visit her lieutenant with tokens of her high displeasure. As he passed through Berwick on his way, the earl made him the bearer of the following despatch :—

TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

It may please your majesty, this bearer is sent from the Queen of Scots, to make, as I understand, very great and heavy complaints against me, for two matters done here by me for your majesty's service, whereof I have advertised up to Mr. Secretary and others ere now. My doings in the same, as they be (I trust), in no point beyond your majesty's commission, so I hope your majesty will stand so much my good and gracious lady, as not to credit this message further than to think that I am well able to answer my doings in such sort as shall appertain.

This queen doth not so well like peradventure of such as serve your majesty here, for this message is not only touching me, but also Mr. Randolph, of whose good service your majesty under-

A.D. 1566. standeth. So trusting your highness will take my good meaning in this your service to the best, I pray most humbly for your majesty's most prosperous health, and the long continuance thereof. From your majesty's town of Berwick, this 4th of January, 1565-6.

Your majesty's most humble servant,

F. BEDFORD.¹

The tenour of Bedford's explanation to his mistress may be gathered from Elizabeth's reply to the Scottish queen. She professed herself wholly ignorant of any such transaction as Mary complained of, but supposed that she meant a late occurrence, in which her Scottish subjects were aggressors, having assaulted from an ambush and made prisoners certain Englishmen, who were endeavouring to seize some Scottish thieves that had plundered the subjects of both nations; and that to rescue these, two of the Berwick captains had led forth from that garrison about four hundred men. At the same time she declared her intention to examine the case further, and to desire Bedford to redress all just complaints, and to abstain from every proceeding that might compromise their amity.

Meanwhile, as one despite on border ground scarcely ever passed without a quittance, Cessford was meditating an inroad into England, with five hundred moss-troopers of Teviotdale, partly in revenge that they could not have home one Kerr, who was detained in pledge to answer certain bills of accusation, and partly in hope that the anticipated treaty would cancel all misdeeds of such a nature. The English queen, at Bedford's solicitation, instructed him, by letters under her own signet, how he was to comport himself in the event of such a foray. He was directed to request Mary's

¹ State Paper Office.

interference to prevent it; but should the enterprise have taken place already, to consult with Sir John Forster and other captains of experience in border matters, and make such reprisals as the custom of the marches authorised. In either case, however, he was enjoined to state his reluctance to right himself by arms, being as he was under a commission for negotiating peace; and that he should take such satisfaction purely in respect of fresh aggression. A.D. 1566.

It was impossible that with these bickerings any conference on the treaty could be harmoniously settled. In the much more serious events that instantly took place, it was, in fact, entirely lost sight of.

Notwithstanding the great interest that was made for the restoration of the banished lords, the violent councils to which Mary seemed likely to be betrayed augured ill for her tranquillity. She was required by her foreign friends to proceed to the utmost extremities against them in the parliament that was summoned to meet in March; a measure that was certain to drive them and their adherents on some desperate course or other. Rizzio, solicited by Murray, and little brooking the petulance of Darnley, who was grown extremely jealous of the familiar confidence which he enjoyed with the queen,—a confidence which the king was daily losing by his singular and violent caprices,—shewed for a while some disposition in their favour; whilst the sound arguments employed by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton convinced Mary that her real interests lay upon the side of clemency: so that she began to deliberate whether it would not be best to defer the assembly that was summoned for the confiscation of their estates. But, unhappily for this prudential measure, Villamonte, the envoy from her uncles, suffered not her mind to rest till she had altered this determination; and Rizzio knew

A.D. 1566. too well the earnest wishes of the Pope to think of ministering offence to him by any counter-interference. Besides, all the Catholic princes of Europe, says Melville, were banded to root them out of Europe, as the odious innovators and opponents of their faith. Aware, probably, of this, but at all events clearly foreseeing the struggle that was likely to ensue, the Earl of Bedford marked every symptom that indicated such a process with no ordinary interest. The following communications, which represent in some degree the state of things at the Scottish court, demonstrate this anxiety :—

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

After my hearty commendations, I have received your letter ; and the queen's majesty's also, directed to Mr. Randolph, I have sent unto him, the answer whereunto may chance to be the longer, for this Frenchman, and the ceremonies of that (court). Touching this commission, (and because I see by your letters so little likelihood of assistance granted therein), I cannot but think that less fruit and good success shall every way ensue thereof than peradventure every one maketh just account of. For as concerning these lords, (whose case is not, I am sure, the least part of the cause of this meeting, if any be,) their parliament in Scotland, long since appointed, holdeth, as I think you hear, at the prefixed day ; and in the mean time the lords of the same are already assembled, as I doubt not you understand their manner is, to determine and conclude beforehand upon such and so many articles as shall then be brought in question ; which lords, most of them being hereunto appointed, are utter enemies to the case ; and the chiefest point, or if it be not the chiefest, it is not the least, is, that these good lords be excluded from all pardon, and their goods and lands confiscate ; and so far forward it is with some of them already, that the Earl of Murray's lands be given away, and he having now but a small place left, must sell the same, for the further maintenance of himself, like as I think he will now shortly signify and declare to the queen's majesty.

As to the quiet ordering of border matters, as long as Bothwell A.D. 1566. is continued in the commission, I see not what good can be done ; for if he either feared God or loved justice, there were some hope that somewhat would be amended. As for myself and my service therein, they to the uttermost shall not be wanting ; and as for (the taunt) to match me either with him or any other inferior than he of that realm, I ruffle not ; for so I may serve my prince, do good to these borders, and profit to such as I know have deserved well thereof, it is the one to me, if my health, which I have not well had these three weeks past, be no let hereunto. If that continue which hath troubled me, then must the commission for the time cease, or else some further assistance be sent : the one I refer to God, and the other to your consideration to think on.

The Lord Darnley and this queen fall still to popery ; for on Candlemas day last they carried their candles, and since that time seek further to advance it ; whereunto, whether this ambassador's coming will do good or evil, it is hard to say. He was with the queen the first night of his coming, and very well used. There have been many masses said of late in that realm in private houses, as well in the inland country as here near the borders.

I heartily thank you for letting me understand of Fowler's apprehension and examination also. I was very sure, as I wrote, he came not this way. Divers men think that he can discover many secret practices, which your wisdom there, and time also, will soon bring to light. * * *

Herewith I send you a letter of Sir John Forster, whereby you shall see that divers of his Redesdale men, of 100 or 140, were bowned abroad, who, hearing of the preparation to ride upon them, are all come in, as you shall see by his letter more at large, saving that two be yet abroad, who went to the Scots queen forthwith, and were by her very well received and welcome. * * * And thus with my hearty thanks I end, and commit you to God. From Berwick, this 8th of February, 1566.¹

Your right assured friend,

F. BEDFORD.

¹ Cott. MSS. Cal. ix. p. 214.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

A.D. 1566.

After my hearty commendations, I send you herewith Mr. Randolph's letters, whereby you shall, I doubt not, understand the whole estate of things there. Religion is much feared by the godly and honest, and popery sought to be set up and advanced.

The queen there useth some speech to some, and to other she useth to take them by the hands, and offereth to lead them with her to mass, which thing the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley both refused to do. That Home so did, I marvel not a little. The Lord Darnley sometimes would shut up the noblemen in chambers, thereby to bring them to hear mass; but such kind of persuasions takes no place with them. At this great assembly now, at the ambassador's coming, were ten earls, whereof the one half went to mass, the other half to the sermon; and so did all the lusty gentlemen and courtiers, triple in number in respect of the other, went to the sermon, notwithstanding the ceremony; so that the queen, at their return thence, marvelled thereat not a little.

The ambassador hath, as I hear, dealt very effectually for these good lords, but nothing will be heard, nor no goodness granted for them. The parliament draweth now near, whereat both their lands and goods shall be confiscate. It would do well that the commission were hastened, if it were but for their cause, to assay what good might be done for them: peradventure somewhat might be done; for to drive off time, and to prolong their parliament, or otherwise by friends at home some ease might be had, though grace be not granted them in such sort as they desire. And it may be, that this setting at liberty of the Earl of Sutherland, at the suit of my Lord of Murray, may be a means to do the earl some goodness, though not presently, yet will it, in time to come, increase amity and friendship between the Earls of Murray and Huntley. And I heartily thank you for the speedy resolution for this Earl of Sutherland's enlargement.

I have sent Colwick, my man, to the court to Edinburgh, to declare to the lords there the delays and want of justice used by Cessford, and to demand redress thereof. Now, while Cessford is there, I hope there will some good order be taken therein. As for the matter of keeping Kerr, Cessford's man and cousin, I have

referred the same to be between us compromitted to two borderers A.D. 1566. for each part, whereof Sir John Forster to be one, and what order they shall agree upon the same to be followed. For our other matters of the march, as the detaining on each side certain prisoners, upon the occasion of the spoil made upon the victuallers in our bounds, my Lord Hume and I shall, I doubt not, right well compound the same.

The Duke of Châtelrault hath altered his determination for going by sea, and mindeth now to come post thither to the court, for the which purpose I have a few days past given him a commission for himself and fifteen to post thither with him. Many here do conjecture that the queen's majesty meaneth to make wars, because they see neither good peace, neither yet nothing in hand towards the redress of such causes as might minister wars. But herein I know her majesty's meaning and disposition to be fully bent to the contrary, and that she mindeth peace and good amity, as much as may be.

I received a letter from the queen here for the restitution of the money left on this coast,¹ the copy whereof I send you: to like effect, as I guess, she wrote to my Lord of Northumberland. And the Lord Hume and Lethington should have come to me for this matter, and for the composition of other matters on the borders between the Lord Hume and me; and she, perceiving that, according to her commandment, Lethington was willing to come, suspected belike his upright dealing, and said secretly that he was very willing to deal with me, though he seemed to the contrary: so as hearing thereof, and being booted and ready, he refused to come. He is but in mean favour as now, and never did better in religion than at this present, nor never so constant.

There cometh now very shortly unto you Robert Melville, to treat for the Lady Lennox' liberty, for Fowler, and for restitution of the money lost. I cannot tell what to say to it that his credit is now so great, having heretofore been employed on a contrary

¹ Eight thousand crowns of gold sent by the pope to Mary in a vessel which was wrecked upon the coast of Northumberland. The Earl of Northumberland claimed it as his property by manorial right; and although a Catholic, and though the sum was sent for the extension of the Catholic religion, refused to deliver it on the Queen of Scots' demand.

A.D. 1566. part. This is all I can say, Scots be and will be Scots for their own matters. As for the man, I have opinion of him good enough, till I hear credibly the contrary; yet thought I (it) good to advertise you of thus much, that you might hearken with whom he dealeth and practiseth withal.¹

Assure yourself the poor afflicted lords are in that hard estate as depends only upon the queen's majesty, next under God, and otherwise they are in utter ruin and undone. There is a league concluded between the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and divers other popish princes, for the overthrow of religion, as you shall hear more by others, which is come to this queen's hands, but not yet confirmed. Thereof and of her uncles, the house of Guise, she hopeth much; and Castelnau with his coming hath much altered her disposition, as well touching religion as to the Earl of Murray, whereof Robert Melville will declare to you more at length. Thus with my hearty thanks I end, and commit you to God. From Berwick, this 14th of February, 1566.²

Your right assured friend,

F. BEDFORD.

I think you shall understand by Mr. Randolph's letters, that there is some hope there that some other than Bothwell may be placed in this commission. M. Rambouillet will, as I hear, be here to-morrow, or on Saturday at the farthest. And of my rheumatism I am now better than I was.

In a subsequent letter, written also in February, the earl apprised Cecil of the strenuous efforts which the friends of Murray were making in his favour. He states, that, to prevent his condemnation, the Earls Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven,

¹ Sir Robert was sent to the English court to be ready on all occasions to forward Mary's interests, in case any thing were done in the English parliament concerning the succession. "He was," says Sir James Melville, "in great credit and handling with many noblemen in England, favourers of Mary's title."—*Mem.* p. 149. "By my brother's stay," he says, "in England, the queen's friends so increased, that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility."—P. 147.

² Cal. B. x. p. 390.

and others, had addressed their solicitations to the king, A.D. 1566. promising him that prize of his incessant wishes, the crown matrimonial, if he would follow their advice, “in restoring those whom the queen disliked, who would be his true friends; and, in giving way to them, to remove David Rizzio from the queen, who by his counsel and practices hindered him from the sole rule.” The real sense in which these terms were meant by the three nobles may admit of some debate. They knew the queen’s intention to begin in the ensuing parliament the execution of that bond which she had subscribed for the utter overthrow of the reformed religion and its supporters: they regarded Rizzio as the principal counsellor in this nefarious scheme; yet their aim at this moment might be limited to his seizure and imprisonment, calculating on Darnley’s intercession for the restoration of their Protestant associates. But, however this may be, the expressions were understood by Bedford in no other sense, who passed them by without comment, as he would have done any minor piece of secret intelligence. But when the little attention paid by Mary to her husband’s interference convinced the lords that no aid could be derived from one who had fallen so low in her regard as the capricious king, disappointment kindled wrath, and wrath the thirst for vengeance, in the which every feeling of remorse, of mercy, and humanity, was wildly overborne. By the power which master-spirits always exercise over their instruments, all the weaker passions of the king,—his jealousy, his vanity, his petulance, and pride of power,—were artfully excited, and dexterously enlisted in their cause; and now the words which they had formerly addressed to him seem pregnant with momentous meaning. On the evening of the 9th of March, the unhappy Rizzio had ceased to breathe.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE MURDER OF RIZZIO TO THE DEATH OF
THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

A.D. 1566-1572.

The Earl of Bedford's account to the English court of the perpetrated tragedy, March 27, 1566 . . . Resentment of the Queen of Scots against Darnley . . . Intelligence from the earl of the state of the Scottish court . . . Bothwell's increasing favour . . . Discords between Darnley and the queen, Aug. 3 . . . Marriage of the Earl of Bedford with the Countess of Rutland, Sept. . . . Conspiracy of the Elliotts against Bothwell, Oct. . . . Fatal visit to him of the Queen of Scots, Oct. 16 . . . She visits Berwick, Nov. . . . Earl of Bedford sent to the baptism of her infant prince . . . Particulars of his journey, Dec. 9 . . . His interview and entertainment . . . Labours to heal the dissension between the queen and her husband . . . Conspiracy against, and death of, Darnley . . . Mission of Throgmorton, July 26, 1567 . . . The earl resigns his wardenry, Oct. . . . Battle of Langside . . . He declines to take the custody of the Queen of Scots . . . Is visited at Chenies by Queen Elizabeth, July 23, 1570 . . . Letter to him from the Duke of Norfolk, Oct. 11, 1571 . . . Execution of the latter, Jan. 16, 1572.

A.D. 1566. OF this startling catastrophe, various rumours were quickly blown abroad. The Earl of Bedford, when his first emotion at the tidings had subsided, took the best means which his situation afforded him of collecting the authentic particulars, and joined with Randolph in transmitting to his court the following interesting despatch : —

'TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

May-it please your Honours! Hearing of so many matters as we do, and finding such variety in the reports, we have much ado to discern the verity, which maketh us the slower and loather to put any thing in writing, to the intent we would not that your honours, and by you the queen's majesty our sovereign, should be advertised

but of the very truth, as near as we can possible. To this end we A.D. 1566.
thought good to send up Captain Carew, who was in Edinburgh at
the time of the last attempt, who spoke there with divers, and
after that with the queen's self and her husband. Conforme to that
which we have learned by others, and know by his report, we find
the same confirmed by the parties' self that were there present
and assisters unto those that were executors of the deed.

This we find for certain: that the queen's husband, being
entered into a vehement suspicion of David, that by him some-
thing was committed which was most against the queen's honour,
and not to be borne of his part, first communicated his mind to
George Douglas, who finding his sorrows so great, sought all the
means he could to put some remedy to his grief: and communi-
cating the same to my Lord Ruthven, by the king's commandment,
no other way could be found than that David should be taken out
of the way; wherein he was so earnest and daily pressed the same,
that no rest could be had until it was put in execution. To this it
was found good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindsey should be
made privy, to the intent that they might have their friends at
hand, if need required, which caused them to assemble so many
as they thought sufficient against the time that this determination
of theirs should be put in execution, which was determined the 9th
of this instant, three days before the parliament should begin; at
what time, the said lords were assured that the Earls of Argyle,
Murray, Rothes, and their complices, should have been forfeited, if
the king could not be persuaded through this means to be their
friend; who, for the desire that he had that his intent should take
effect the one way, was content to yield without all difficulty to
the other, with this condition, that they would give their consents
that he might have the crown matrimonial. He was so impatient
to see those things he saw and were daily brought to his ears, that
he daily pressed the said Lord Ruthven that there might be no longer
delay; and to the intent it might be manifest unto the world
that he approved the deed, was content to be at the doing of it
himself.

Upon the Saturday at night, near unto 8 o'clock, the king
conveyeth himself, the Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two
others, through his own chamber by the privy stairs, up to the

A.D. 1566. queen's chamber, going to which there is a cabinet about twelve feet square, in the same a little low reposing bed and a table, at the which there were sitting, at the supper, the queen, the Lady Argyle, and David, with his cap upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and Lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying that there was no place for him. The queen said, that it was her will; her husband answered, that it was against her honour. The Lord Ruthven then said, that he should learn better his duty, and, offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the plaits of her gown, and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bedchamber, into the chamber of presence, where were the Lord Morton and Lord Lindsey, who, intending that night to have reserved him and the next day to hang him, so many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many other, so that he had in his body above sixty wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him: whether he struck him or not, we cannot know for certain.¹ He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the chamber of presence.

There remained a long time with the queen her husband and the Lord Ruthven. She made, as we hear, great intercession that he should have no harm. She blamed greatly her husband, that was the author of so foul an act. It is said that he did answer, that David had more company of her body than he for the space of two months; and therefore, for her honour and his own contentment, he gave his consent that he should be taken away. "It is not," saith she, "the woman's part to seek the husband, and therefore in that the fault was his own." He said, that when he came, she either would not, or made herself sick.² "Well," saith she, "you have taken your last of me, and your farewell." "That were pity," saith the Lord Ruthven: "he is your majesty's hus-

¹ It was Douglas, says Hume, who, seizing the king's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio.

² In the original, from the words "she blamed greatly," to the end of this sentence, three lines are drawn obliquely down the page, with this note

band, and you must yield duty to each other." "Why may not I," A.D. 1566. saith she, "leave him, as well as your wife did her husband? Others have done the like." The Lord Ruthven said, "that she was lawfully divorced from her husband, and for no such cause as the king found himself grieved. Besides, this man was mean, base, enemy to the nobility, shame to her, and destruction to her grace's country." "Well," saith she, "it shall be dear blood to some of you, if his be spilt." "God forbid!" saith Lord Ruthven; "for the more your grace shew yourself offended, the world will judge the worse." Her husband this time speaketh little: her grace continually weepeth. The Lord Ruthven being evil at ease and weak, calleth for drink, and saith, "This I must do, with your majesty's pardon," and persuadeth her, in the best sort he could, that she would pacify herself. Nothing that could be said could please her.

In this mean time there rose a cumber in the court; to pacify which, there went down the Lord Ruthven, who went straight to the Earls Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, to quiet them, and to assure them from the king that nothing was intended against them. They, notwithstanding, taking fear when they heard that my Lord of Murray would be there the next day, and Argyle to meet them, Huntley and Bothwell get out of a window, and so depart. Athol had leave of the king, with Flyske and Landores, (who was lately called Lyslaye, the parson of Oune), to go where they would; and being conveyed out of the court by the Lord of Lethington, they went that night to such places where they thought themselves in most safety.

Before the king left talk with the queen, in the hearing of the Lord Ruthven, she was content that he should lie with her that night. We know not how he forslowe¹ himself, but he came not at her, and excused himself to his friends, that he was so sleepy that he could not wake in due time. There were in this company two that came in with the king; the one Andrew Carr of Fawsenside, whom the queen saith would have stroken her with a dagger; and

in the margin: "It is our parts rather to pass this matter with silence than to make any such rehearsal of things committed unto us in secret; but we know to whom we write, and leave all things to your wisdoms."

¹ Lost himself through sloth.

A.D. 1566. one Patrick Balentine, brother to the justice-clerk, who also, her grace saith, offered a dagge¹ against her belly, with the cock down. We have been earnestly in hand with the Lord Ruthven, to know the verity; but he assureth us of the contrary. There were in the queen's chamber the Lord Robert, Arthur Erskine, and one or two other, they at the first offering to make some defence. The Lord Ruthven drew his dagger, and few more weapons than that were not drawn nor seen in her grace's presence, as we are by the said lord assured.

The next day, about 7 o'clock after noon, there arrived the Earl of Murray, and the others with him that were in England. He spake immediately with the king, and straight after with the queen. She said that he was welcome, and laid the fault upon others that he was out of the country, required of him to be a good subject, and she would be to him as he would. The next day he spake with her again, as also my Lord of Morton and Lord Ruthven, who exhorted her humbly to cast off her care, to study for that which might be her safety, weal, and honour, promising for their parts obedience and service, as became true and faithful subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worth, willed them to devise what might be for their security, and she would subscribe it. She sendeth for the Lord of Lethington, and in gentle words deviseth with him that he would persuade that she might have her liberty, and the guard that was about her removed, seeing that she had granted their requests. He found it very good, and not many of the lords, as we hear, that misliked it. All men being gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of any, that either she would depart, or not perform the promise to the lords, about 12 o'clock at night she conveyed herself a privy way out of the house. She, her husband, and one gentlewoman came to the place where Arthur Erskine and the captain of her guard kept the horses, and so rode her way behind Arthur Erskine, until she came to Seton: there she took a horse to herself, and rode to Dumbarton to the castle, whither resorted unto her the Lords Huntley and Bothwell, and so divers of the whole country.

The lords being thus disappointed, sent the next day the Lord

¹ Pistol.

Simple to her grace, with request from their lordships unto her A.D. 1566. majesty to fulfil her promise to sign that bill for their security. He was deferred two or three days, until such time as divers of the lords, of the which the Earl of Glencairn was the first, the Earl Rothes next, and some others, by secret means had gotten their remission, and were fully restored, who, breaking from the rest, as their force diminished so did her grace increase, and where before they were able to have at the least defended themselves, they were fain to seek their own safety. To this also the slow coming of the Earl of Argyle was a great impediment, who, being not yet come to Edinburgh, did put no small doubt lest that he would follow the same way which Glencairn and Rothes had done. The Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven, finding themselves left by the king, for all his fair promises, bands, and subscriptions, and seeing the other fall from them, saving the Earl of Murray and such as were of the last enterprise, thought best to provide for themselves; and so every one of them take their several ways, where they think that they may be most at ease or surety; whose names we send herewith to your honours.

The Earl of Argyle being come to Linlithgow, my Lord of Murray with his friends go to him.

About the time that the lords left Edinburgh, the queen departed towards Dunbar. She entered the town with about 3000 persons, all men being commanded to attend upon her grace at her pleasure. The noblemen and best able remain yet there. She lodgeth not in the abbey, but in a house in the town, in the high street, and yesterday removed to one other nearer the castle, and larger. The next day after her arrival, she sendeth the parson of Flyske to Linlithgow, with conditions to my Lords Argyle, Murray, and the rest, which being by them found sufficient for their safety, with restitution to their lands and goods, they have accepted, with these restraints, not for a space to come near the court, nor yet to be suitors for those that committed the last attemptate. The king hath utterly forsaken them, and protested before the council that he was not consenting to the death of David, and that it is sore against his will: he will neither maintain them nor defend them; whereupon, the next day, public declaration was made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the 21st of this instant, against

A.D. 1566. the lords, declaring the king's innocency in that matter. As many as were at this act, or of counsel, are summoned to underlie the law upon Friday next. Divers of them are out of the country, as my Lord of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, his son, and Andrew Carr. The Lord of Lindsey is either with my Lord of Argyle, or within the Lord Athol's bounds, where also it is said that my Lord of Lethington is, of whom we hear that he hath accepted a charge from the queen, to enter himself prisoner in Inverness. He was participant of this last counsel, discovered by the king's self, as all the rest were that he knew. Drumlanrig is in the castle of Edinburgh; a son of his in the Blackness; the Laird of Wedderburn, a Hume of good living, in Dunbar; of which now we hear that my Lord of Bothwell hath the keeping, and is entered into all the lands that the Lord of Lethington had in possession. The parson of Flyske is made clerk of the register; where himself is, we know not; his wife put out of the house, and it spoiled, given in prey to the soldiers. Who shall be secretary, we know not; but the Lord of Lethington having such friendship with my Lord Athol, it is thought that he shall do well enough. The justice-clerk is rather suspected for his brother than that he can be accused to have been of this practice, yet, as we hear, his office is given away. Divers of the town, honest men, are committed to prison, and divers have escaped.

Besides her guard, she hath 300 soldiers in wages, which are paid by the town, who find the burden great and extremity such, as under the Frenchmen their lives were never so sore.

The queen hath caused a band to be made, and will that all men that are friends to any of those that were privy to David's death shall subscribe to pursue them, and do their uttermost to apprehend them and bring them to the place of justice. Some have subscribed, others have refused, and, as we hear, that is the cause of the imprisonment of Drumlanrig and his son, who came to the town two days after the death of David.

Of the great substance he had, there is much spoken: some say, in gold to the value of £2000 sterling. His apparel was very good, as it is said, eighteen pair of velvet hose; his chamber well furnished, armour, dags, pistolets, harquebusses, and twenty-two swords. Of all this, nothing is spoiled nor lacking, saving two or

three dages. He had the custody of all the queen's letters, which all were delivered, unlooked upon. We hear of a jewel that he had hanging about his neck, of some price, that cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he was slain, a night-gown of damask, furred, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet. A.D. 1566.

Because you, Mr. Secretary, in your letter of the 20th, required that you might be advertised by me, Randolph, at good length with the circumstances of those things that were done at that time, and of the speeches betwixt the queen and them, your honours shall receive all that hitherto we have heard, having conferred the reports from abroad which came to our knowledge, with the sayings of these noblemen, the Lord Morton and Lord Ruthven that are present, and of them all that which we have found nearest to the truth, or as we believe the truth's self, have here put them in writing, not having at this time so much care how long we trouble you with the reading, nor how homely they are put together; but willing to our uttermost part to inform you the truth, leaving the judgment of the matter's self to your wisdoms. It may please your honours farther to know, that there arrived here upon Monday last the Earl of Morton, that came in by the west borders, and with him George Douglas. His lordship and my Lord Ruthven have both written to your honours, being advised thereunto by my Lord of Murray, and mind very shortly to make full declaration of their whole cause, how it proceeded from the beginning to this time of their arrival here.

Besides these which are here, not above ten or twelve persons, it is thought that others shortly will repair into the country, for that we hear that they are sharply pursued, their houses and goods possessed, and themselves very earnestly sought for. We have no farther at this time to write unto your honours, saving we hear for certain that the Earl of Lennox is commanded from the court, in what sort or whither, yet we know not.

We see no force intended by the subjects towards their sovereign; but a patient will to endure this fortune, until it please God to make it better. The Lord Ruthven is very sick, and keepeth most his bed. Thus, having long troubled you, for the desire we have in all things to satisfy you, though we had good

A.D. 1566. will in some things to have been sparer, in special for the speeches between the queen and her husband, we take our leaves. At Berwick, the 27th of March, 1566.

Your honours' most assured,

F. BEDFORD,

THOS. RANDOLPHE.

Through the promptitude and vigour which mark these proceedings of the queen, may be discerned somewhat of the indignation which she conceived from this revolting deed. But it was upon her husband's head that the principal weight of her resentment fell, and from having been the subject of her simple disregard, he now became the object of her inexpiable aversion. She had the self-control, as we have seen, to dissemble her feelings for a time, till her escape was effected, and he was detached from his accomplices. She then persuaded him to disavow by proclamation all part in, and all knowledge of, the dreadful act in which he had participated; and having thus exposed his folly and falsehood to the world, abandoned him coolly to scorn and to contempt. To the rest of the conspirators, as the passions in her breast subsided, her natural clemency relented; but his outrage on her feelings was never absent from her memory, and in the midst of subsequent external composure there was a settled anger at her heart, which was continually fed by grief and discontent.

After banishing the Earl of Lennox from her court, she had recourse to the Earls of Athol, Bothwell, and Huntley, for her ministers: to the first she reconciled Argyle, to the second Murray, and, with the Earl of Glencairn, added them to her privy council. After thus fixing some form to her distracted government, she gave birth to her son on the 19th of June, furnishing to the English queen a subject

for some feelings which neither the woman nor princess A.D. 1566. could repress, but to the two nations the prospect of a peaceful successor to both thrones.

The auspicious event appears by the ensuing letter to have had its kindly influences upon almost all but him who should have had most cause for joy. Malvesier, who was sent by the French court with its congratulations, laboured much to effect a reconciliation with the king, and pardon for the exiled nobles. On Mary's recovery and visit to the Earl of Mar at Alloa, Maitland was admitted to her, and received forgiveness; and through Murray's intercessions, some of the inferior parties to the crime had permission to return to their estates. That they had no farther success at this time, was undoubtedly owing to that rising ascendancy of Bothwell, to which the Earl of Bedford now first alludes, and which proved the omen of new storms and a convulsion yet more fearful. The hatred which Bothwell's fierce and overbearing conduct generally inspired, was heightened by this circumstance; and the exiled Morton already took advantage of it for his own purposes, to stir up against his sway many of the noble Marchmen, who had lately been so forward to obey and to assist the queen.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO SECRETARY CECIL.

After my hearty commendations: now that Mr. Marshall¹ hath been with you, and declared the state of all things here, I shall daily look for some direction from you how to proceed, and chiefly for the letter sent me from my lord warden, whereof I heartily pray you let me hear, if it be thought good that I shall do any thing, as Mr. Semple requireth. And then, let me pray you to have in remembrance my coming hence at Michaelmas; for being so subject to rheums and catarrhs (as Dr. Hewick, who knoweth best the state of my body and my complexion, can declare),

¹ Sir William Drury.

A.D. 1566. and feeling some grief thereof already, this winter will make an end of me; and this I speak not as for colour, or any other cause than preservation of health; which being gone or decayed, I cannot serve as is looked for, nor as I would myself. I trust you will therefore tender this my suit.

For news out of Scotland, you shall understand that Lethington should speak with the queen as yesterday at Alloa; and this meeting will bring reconciliation, as it is thought. The Lairds of Brymstone¹ and Elvestone, who were abroad with the Earl Morton, have, by the Earl of Murray's means, gotten their duesse,² and are gone home. The queen thinketh, as I hear, that the Earl Morton is returned home from where he hath been, and is come to the lady of Crauford, who of old time and long continuance hath been a friend and well-willer of his, after the Scots' manner; and that he is with her; for the which purpose the queen hath sent a great company thither, to make search for him, and those that were with him abroad. She meaneth now shortly to go against the Laird of Cessford and his son with great force, and to keep a justice-seat at Jedworth for that purpose; but some doubt whether it will hold or not. And that Bothwell shall come with her force and subdue all; but the gentlemen borderers, as the Lord Hume, the Lairds of Cessford and Buccleugh, and the rest of the surnames, (a very few only except, not a handful to be accounted of,) have promised to live and die with Cessford, and to withstand Bothwell, unless the queen come in person. And for that purpose have the best of these surnames, as well the Elwoods, whom we feared would become open enemies, as many other else, sent and desired my lord warden and me, that if they should so be distressed, we would suffer them for four or five days to lie closely upon our borders for their better succour: and we have answered, that as much as we may do, without breach of amity, and as the treaty will in any wise bear, we will shew them, and they shall find our favour; and they all promise towards us all quietness and good neighbourhood.

The Master Maxwell, who hath long time depended upon Bothwell, is now far out with him, and at such feud, as notwith-

^{1 2} So in the original.

standing that the queen hath sent for him, yet will not Maxwell A.D. 1566. come. The cause is, that Bothwell, he saith, seeketh his death, and he therefore will not come at him, nor near where he is, except it be against his will, or with some force, to make his party good. Bothwell continueth the most hated man of that realm; and it is said that his influence is such, as David was never more abhorred than he is now.

The queen and her husband agree after the old manner, or rather, worse; she eateth but very seldom with him, but lieth not nor keepeth company with him, nor loveth any such as love him. He is so far out of her books, as at her going from the Castle of Edinburgh to remove abroad, he knew nothing thereof. It cannot for modesty, nor with the honour of a queen, be reported what she said of him.

One Hickman, an English merchant there, having a water-spaniel that was very good, gave him to James Melville, who afterwards, for the pleasure that he saw that the king had in such kind of dogs, gave him to the king. The queen therefore fell marvellously out with Melville, and called him dissembler and flatterer, and said she could not trust him who would give any thing to such one as she loved not. Malvesier, as I hear, worketh all that he can for the calling home of the lords that are abroad: some thought he would not have done any thing for them, much less thus much as now he doth.

I pray you, if my Lady of Rutland be at the court, or else not far off, cause this letter to be delivered to her, on whose behalf I must give you my most hearty thanks, for helping to despatch her of this long and troublous journey.

Grainge hath advertised me, that Malvesier and Le Croq both work very earnestly and effectually for Morton's calling home; it would do well that a Douglas should be called home rather by England's means than by the French. The queen's majesty might win much honour and many hearts, if she would do any thing therein; now is the time meetest. His lordship, as I have heard, hath always accounted himself much beholden to you for your favour and great good-will towards him and his case. Grainge hath taken his leave of writing to me, for he is the most suspected man of Scotland. I wish it might please the queen's majesty to

A.D. 1566. have consideration of him, and to send him somewhat as a token of remembrance. I pray you let me hear from you, for it is now a long while since I heard either from my Lord of Leicester or you, except it were once with a little letter. And thus having troubled you so long, with my most hearty thanks I end, and commit you to God's keeping. From Berwick, this 3d of August, 1566.¹

Your right assured friend,

F. BEDFORD.

He adds, upon the 12th of the same month, from Alnwick: "I have heard, since Malvesier's going hence, that this king and queen have slept together, whereby it is thought some better agreement will ensue between them. The borders are in good quietness, and I see Hume well bent to justice, and so do I hope that Cessford will continue, as he hath well begun. I have heard that there is a device working for the Earl Bothwell, the particulars whereof I might have heard, and of some circumstance else; but because such kind of dealing likes me not, I desired to hear no further of the matter. Bothwell was of late in Tweeddale with some force, to seek the young Laird of Cessford, but found him not: he groweth still so hard a man, as cannot therefore long continue; he beareth all the sway, and albeit, the Earl of Murray be there and have good words, yet can he do nothing. Lethington cometh now shortly to that court, and after some small time of his tarrying there, shall be sent into England to continue the amity as Melville did; and, it is said, he will not forget to give the queen's majesty due thanks for her great goodness, and help used on his behalf. As for religion, was never colder there: she (the queen) hath sent me very kind and gentle words, and seemeth to have altered her opinion of me.

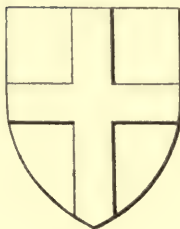
¹ Caligula, B. x. p. 380.

ARMS. VII.

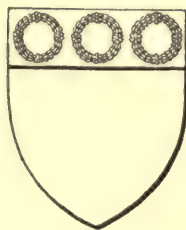
MANNERS.



HUSSEY.



MORRISON.



FORSTER.



COOKE.



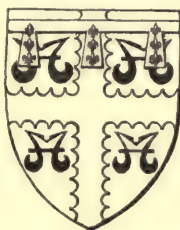
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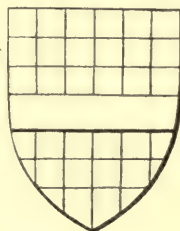
LONG.



BOURCHIER.



CLIFFORD.



“Malvesier can tell you in what case he found me ; so as A.D. 1566. though I be in some better case than I was, yet am I not so well as I would be, for my health's sake. My Lady of Rutland and I had appointed to meet, as I perceive you understand ; but for some causes, and therewithal also to settle my lord warden at Berwick afore my going thence, I have thought good to defer the same, and yet not to be long thence, for all that.”¹

With the lady who is here spoken of, the earl was contemplating a second marriage, as appears by the settlement which he executed in her favour on the 25th of June.² This Lady Bridget, who thus became his countess, was the daughter of John, Lord Hussey,³ and widow both of Sir Richard Morrison,⁴ the able negotiator, and of Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland.⁵ There is no account at what period the nuptials were celebrated ; but they probably took place at court the beginning of September, after the earl had made suitable arrangements with his fellow-warden for the safety of the eastern marches during his temporary absence.

¹ Calig. B. x. p. 382.

² Bundle of Evid. in the Bedford Office.

³ Arms ; *Argent*, a cross vert.

⁴ Arms ; *Or*, on a chief *gules* 3 chaplets of the first. Sir Richard Morrison, a native of either Oxfordshire or Essex, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, where he was noted for his skill in the learned languages, and in the common and civil law. He was frequently employed by Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, in embassies to the emperor and the German princes, which he discharged with great integrity and ability. His chief excellency was his foresight, which, says Lloyd, rendered even his conjectures more valuable in England than other men's reports of known designs. For he was accustomed to say, “that his master maintained ambassadors, not so much to write histories as prophecies ;” and once when our ambassador in France advised him of a battle fought the previous week, he drily answered by a long discourse on the Battle of Spurs, fought many years before, and concluded smartly and wittily, by saying, “I and you are not here to tell old stories.”

⁵ Arms ; *Or*, two bars *azure*, a chief, quarterly of the second and *gules*, the 1. and 4. charged with 2 fleurs-de-lys of the first, and the 2. and 3. with a lion passant guardant of the same.

A.D. 1566. The device which he alluded to as on foot against the hated Bothwell, and which his utter repugnance to all deeds of violence had prevented him from listening to, was obvious in October. On the 6th of that month, as lord lieutenant of her borders, Bothwell was sent forward by the Scottish queen from Edinburgh, to settle some of the alleged disorders, previous to her going to Jedburgh to hold her justiciary court. He had scarcely entered Liddisdale, than the daring clansmen of Lord Cessford put into effect the resistance which they threatened. It was on the 8th that the discontented Elliots, on the eager watch for him, attacked him and his band from one of the wooded dingles of the country, and a stubborn and fierce conflict, hilt to hilt, ensued, which must have been fought with all the rancour of infuriated hatred, as the earl, notwithstanding his ferocious heart and powerful arm, received many severe wounds and bruises on the head and body, principally from the sword of one John Elliot, of the Park. There can be no doubt that the assailants meant to have had his life; but he was with some difficulty rescued by his vassals, and borne off by them to his castle of the Hermitage. The wounds inflicted on him, although dangerous, touched no vital part. By the 16th of the month he was pronounced a convalescent.

That 16th of October, if it did not prove absolutely fatal to the fame of Mary, was a day on which the first marked step was taken on her part that in any decisive manner committed her reputation to "those airy tongues that syllable men's names" for censure and dishonour. She was then at Jedburgh, having set out from Edinburgh on the very day when the assault was made on Bothwell. Jedburgh was twenty miles from the castle where he lay; the year was waning into winter; and the ways along that moorland country

were at such a season little fitted to invite a traveller of A.D. 1566. any degree, much less a lady and a queen, on a visit of ceremony or friendly courtesy; yet, on learning his mischance, the Queen of Scots took the unprecedented resolution of riding to the Hermitage to see the wounded earl, and of returning the same day. It must have been indeed an extraordinary state of feeling that excited such an effort. Keith ascribes the interest she displayed on this occasion to the generous idea of her representative's having suffered from his zeal in her behalf; and attributes her return on the same day to her sense of insecurity amidst the loose marauders who might in a few hours have seized her person, and conveyed her into England. But the mere sympathy and gratitude felt by a sovereign to a subject might more fittingly have been communicated by one of the many messengers attendant on a court; and if there were risk from the borderers that compelled her quick return, there was equal risk in undertaking such a visit. The argument might perhaps have passed unquestioned, if darker incidents had not succeeded; but with a knowledge of what followed, a dispassionate observer cannot but regard so wild a journey as the strong token of a misguided partiality that was making rapid inroads on her innocence and peace. Her life had nearly paid the forfeit of her indiscreet temerity; for, after exhausting her already wearied frame upon a large packet of writings, which she despatched by a boy or page on the 17th, to Bothwell, she was seized with fever, fainting, and delirium, and all the seeming symptoms of approaching dissolution. On the ninth day, however, of her seizure, nature made a favourable effort for relief. On the 31st she was sufficiently recovered to send some provisions and other necessaries to the Hermitage; and on the

A.D. 1566. 8th of November left Jedburgh for Kelso, and thence rode towards Berwick, which she had long desired to see. On her approach she was saluted by the garrison with many peals of ordnance. To give her the most advantageous view of the town, Sir John Forster conducted her to Halidon Hill, and afterwards attended her along the coast nearly to Ayemouth. She reached Craigmillar Castle on the 20th of the month ; and there, amidst much mental agitation, discontent, and sorrow, with occasional escapes of impatience at the burden of vexation which she continued to endure from the ties that bound her to a husband she despised, she began to make preparations for the baptism of the infant prince.

The birth of an heir male tended naturally to increase the number of Mary's partisans in England, amongst those who desired to have the succession of the crown declared ; and the parliament now sitting was earnest in soliciting Elizabeth to settle the great question, without more delay. These circumstances rendered it expedient for her to cultivate a better understanding with Mary than she had hitherto resolved on doing. The approaching baptism furnished a favourable opportunity, and she appointed the Earl of Bedford her ambassador, to officiate at the solemnity, with a splendid present to the queen in token of her great goodwill, and instructions for his conduct in perfect harmony with such a declaration. The earl arrived at Berwick the beginning of December ; and on application for safe conduct and information of the day appointed for the ceremony, received the following courteous reply :

QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

Right trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. We have received your letter from the gentleman, bearer thereof. And whereas, you require that by him you may have full and perfect

understanding of our pleasure, for ascertaining the time when you shall repair towards us; we assure you whenever you please to come, you shall be as welcome as we may make you; and thereunto all times shall be alike. But in consideration that the very day of our son's baptism shall be, God willing, the 15th instant, we think it best that you address you to enter on Scots ground upon the 8th day of this same month, against the which we have commanded our warden to meet you, and to convey you hither. And albeit your own person, employed in such a message, were surety enough for yourself and your whole company, and that you needed no other passport at all, yet for satisfaction of your letter, you shall herewith receive our safe conduct according to your desire. Further presently we need not write, seeing we look so shortly for your own presence; whereunto we refer the rest, committing you to the tuition of God.¹

Your right good friend,

Craigmillar, Dec. 4, 1566.

MARIE R.

We desire you to send forward this our letter to our servant Robert Melville, at court.

Some few particulars of the earl's journey are extant by one of his attendants, which, though brief, attest sufficiently the queen's desire to give him a reception suited to his high rank, and to the personage he represented. According to this informant, it was the 9th when the earl set forward on his journey. He was accompanied by most of the Berwick captains, by numerous knights and gentlemen of Yorkshire, Mr. Carey, the Lord Hunsdon's eldest son, Mr. Lignish, one of the Duke of Norfolk's friends, Mr. afterwards Sir Christopher Hatton, and others high in Elizabeth's esteem. He was met at the Bound-Rood by Lord Hume, Lord Cessford, Ormeston, and other border nobles, to the number of one hundred horse. Within four miles of Dunbar he was

¹ Keith's History of the Affairs of Scotland.

A.D. 1566. greeted by Sir James Melville, who was instructed by the Scottish queen to inform him rightly of all her proceedings, and to dispel any prejudice which he might chance to have received from the ill rumours circulated by her adversaries. "And the good earl," says Sir James, "gave me more credit than he did to any wrong report, for he was at this time become one of the surest and most affectionate friends she had in England." Within a mile of the town was stationed its captain, the Lord Whitlaw, with twelve or sixteen horse, who welcomed his entrance by four-and-twenty peals of ordnance from the castle, and presented him to his evening entertainment with wild fowl, wine, and other delicacies. The next morning he was escorted by the Lord Home and his band two miles upon the road to Edinburgh, where the Earl of Sutherland, with eighty horse, received him, consisting of the principal gentry of the country. The cavalcade at Musselburgh was joined by the Lord Borthwick with twenty horse; and within a mile of the city by the lord provost, at the head of eighty burghers and rich merchants; and in this state he entered Edinburgh, saluted by a peal of fifteen cannons from the castle. He was lodged in the house of the Duke of Châtelrault, which had been furnished for the occasion with costly hangings, and with two of the queen's most splendid beds of state—the one for the earl, the other for Mr. Carey.

On the 11th, he and all his company went to hear the sermon in St. Giles's church; and on Thursday visited the town and port of Leith. On his return from this excursion, a party of forty horse brought him into town, amongst whom were the Lord of Arbroath, and the Abbot of Kilwinning. After service on the following morning, the earl pursued his way, accompanied by the same escort; and, being joined by

Sir James Hamilton, was conducted to Linlithgow. The A.D. 1566.
Earls of Murray and Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland, came forward two miles out of Stirling, on the 14th, with one hundred horse, to do him honour, and brought him to the castle, and so to the presence of the queen immediately, before he had arrayed himself, “or even plucked off his boots.” Mary, as he entered the presence chamber, was sitting by a bedside, attended by Huntley, Argyle, and many other earls and lords: “She saluted,” says our quaint recorder, “my Lord of Bedford with a kiss, whether he would or no; and, after a little talk had with him, embraced all the gents; after which time we passed into the great chamber, where he had a banquet of sweet-meat, and so went from the castle; and that night he supped with my lord secretary.

“On the fifteenth day, being Sunday, my Lord of Bedford, accompanied with the Earls of Argyle and Murray, and the Lord of Arbroath, in the morning, at nine o’clock, went to the parish church to the sermon, where there were divers other noblemen, as the Earls of Huntley, Cassilis, and the Lord Fleming; and when sermon was done, they brought my lord home to his house. At dinner there dined the Master of Maxwell with my lord; and about two or three o’clock, my Lords of Argyle and Murray came for my lord to come to the court; and so we went into the presence, where the queen’s majesty sat in the same place as on the day before; and, after welcome given to all the gentlemen, my lord had a long talk with her, which, being ended, the queen went into the nursery to see her bairn, which was brought openly into the presence for every man to see, by the Countess of Murray, governess of the prince; and my lord going away, was sent for again to the queen into the nursery to see the young prince, naked, and lawful for every gentle-

A.D. 1566. man to see. My lord had at supper with him the Lord Boyd and the Earl of Grange; after supper most of the English gentlemen went to the court, where they saw the queen dance, and her ladies, and so did divers Scottish gentlemen, and Mr. Carey and Mr. Hatton."

At this interview the earl delivered his credentials. He stated to the Scottish queen, that, according to her desire that his mistress would stand godmother to the prince her son, she had despatched him to assist and attend the Countess of Argyle, whom she had appointed her proxy on the occasion, the rather as she knew the countess was so dear to her; and, as owing to the winter season, she could not send any of her own ladies. After which, he delivered Elizabeth's letter to the countess, with her hearty commendations, and request that she would be pleased to take the pains to supply that place which his mistress would with all her heart have filled, if her convenience had permitted it.¹

On the following day, after the sermon, the earl again repaired to court, and proceeded to declare the points on which he was commissioned to speak. He began by stating, that as his mistress would be loath, by repeating things past, to stir up unkindness, so she expected that her good sister would conceive a great deal of her inward affection, in digesting her strange dealings in the prosecution of her marriage, wherein she had been ready to shew her kindness, though she conceived cause of the contrary; yet, on retrospection, she was content that she had shewn her a kindness, and this she should always be ready to augment. That, as for what had been required by Melville and others concerning the declaration of Mary's title, his queen was well disposed

¹ Instructions to the Earl of Bedford. Keith's Hist. of Affairs of Scot.

to think she had not designed to molest her by proposing what she found was disagreeable, and that she thought her sister should be satisfied with her former answer, namely, that she would never do, nor suffer to be done, any thing prejudicial to her right, either directly or indirectly; and farther, in proof of amity, if any motion should be made upon that head (in the English parliament), it should meet with as much favour and furtherance from her as justice and equity could devise for her content. As regarded a late request of Sir Robert Melville, that his mistress would cause certain persons, still living, to be examined of their knowledge of her royal father's testament, King Henry the Eighth, she meant to fulfil her wishes upon that point as soon as she conveniently could. After touching on some minor subjects, he came to the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, which, when he saw her in Paris, had been deferred on account of some words in it prejudicial to her title, wherein the Scottish queen had desired to consult her ministers; the earl declared that his queen required nothing to be confirmed but what directly appertained to her, and was willing to omit any thing that might prejudice Mary's title as presumptive heir to the crown of England; all which, he urged, might be secured to her by a new treaty; and a clause therein, engaging on his mistress's part that she would never do or suffer any thing to touch her right, and would declare against all who should impeach the same; a disposition which might fully appear by her having already imprisoned in the Tower one Thornton, a reader of law in Lincoln's-inn, against whom her envoy had objected, although, upon examination, she had found no cause in him for further punishment.¹ A dis-

A.D. 1566.

¹ Instructions to the Earl of Bedford.

A.D. 1566. cussion of some hours succeeded, until dinner was announced; the earl that day dined with the queen, and entertained the Laird of Grange at supper; for he was instructed to deal with such as were found best inclined to the amity with England, more especially those of the council, that they might be satisfied that the adoption of his proposals was the only means of extinguishing mutual jealousy, and perpetuating mutual friendship. After supper he delivered Elizabeth's present to the queen. It was a font of pure and massive gold, which weighed, according to Stowe, 333 ounces, and was valued at 1043*l.* 19*s.*, a gift worthy of a queen. In presenting it, the earl said pleasantly, that it was made as soon as his queen had tidings of the prince's birth, and was then of a sufficient size for him; but that now he, being grown, was too large for it: it would, therefore, he smilingly remarked, be better used for the next child, provided it were christened before it should outgrow the font. When the general curiosity was somewhat satiated with the sight, the day of baptism was fixed for the morrow; and music and dancing shut up the sixteenth day.

“On the 17th,” resumes our narrator of the scene, “my lord went to the sermon, accompanied with divers gentlemen, after which we all went to my Lord of Murray's to dinner, where there dined the Earl of Huntley, apparelled in doublet and hose of white satin and velvet all embroidered with gold, his cloak of velvet embroidered with a broad guard of gold; my Lord of Murray in crimson satin, doublet and hose all with silver embroidered, and a gown of velvet embroidered with silver, and furred with *luyasaunds*; my Lord of Argyle in murrey all with gold; my Lord of Athol in white all in gold; and my Lord of Cassilis all in crimson embroidered with gold. After dinner, about three of the

clock, my lord went to the court to the christening of the prince. The chapel being ready, the trumpet sounded, and there came out of the vestry the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in cope and mitre on his head, with a cross carried before him; and eight priests, all in copes, kneeling down before the high altar, sang 'Veni, Creator!' After which, the prince was brought to the choir-door in great solemnity; but all the lords left the prince at the chapel-door,¹ saving the Earl of Athole, the Earl of Montgomery, the Lord Seaton, and two barons more. He was christened all in the old manner; his name Carolus Jacobus. That done, he was carried into a stately chamber of his own side, where the French ambassadors presented the French king's gift, which was a cabinet rich with jewels; and then he went with the queen into the hall, where she supped at one board with all the three deputies, every one severally served with his mess of meat, and all at one instant with four sewers, earls, to the board. There was also another board, which held sixty persons; and thus they were placed,—of one side a Frenchman and a gentlewoman, and on the other side an English gentleman and a lady; and the service was great, and great the welcome. Supper ended, the queen, with a great many others, danced, as well English as Scottish gents, and so continued by the space of two hours; after which time there came a device of three or four men coming like hobby-horses, and yet sitting as upon a tailor's shopboard, cutting out silk to make some-

¹ The reformed lords would not countenance the Catholic rites. The earl had received directions for his conduct on this point. "You shall govern yourself so as shall be most for our honour, and pleasure of our good sister, and to avoid such things as be against your conscience, and contrary to the religion we profess: 'tis best to imitate the example of Murray and the other lords of the same religion, for which they have the permission of that queen."

A.D. 1566. thing, and so sung four or five sundry songs in Italian, and departed. Then the queen's majesty danced again awhile; the lords brought her to her chamber of presence, and so departed for that night.

“ In the afternoon of the 18th, Argyle, Murray, Sutherland, and Lethington, conducted the earl into the park to hunt the wild bull, where the queen came to witness the diversion. Kirkaldy of Grange dined with him that day, of whom, as well as others, he secretly inquired the meaning of Argyle's intended journey into Ireland, and used all his influence to prevent the enterprise; for he was suspected of favouring the rebel Shane O'Neale, and of fomenting the disturbances which the latter was inciting in that kingdom.¹

“ On the 19th, the Earl of Bedford was entertained with all his company to dinner by the Earl of Huntley; and had his last audience of the queen in the afternoon. After recapitulating his former observations, he again pressed a mutual treaty of perpetual amity; a confirmation, viz. upon her part of the main provisions of the treaty of Edinburgh, and the assurance of the queen his mistress that she would suffer nothing derogatory to Mary's title; whose confirmation, he urged, was a thing both equitable and to be demanded; if refused, it would appear to imply a want of good intention, which he would be reluctant to imagine; if granted, it would tend more than any thing else to knit up the interests of both crowns in indissoluble harmony, and counteract effectually the designs of those whose private advantage it was to stir up discord, troubles, and dissension. The queen yielded

¹ Melville observes in his *Memoirs*, p. 141:—“ My brother gave me the advice of my queen's friends in England, with his own instructions how to proceed after my coming home;” and this was one of the memoranda: “ Let my Lord Argyle entertain O'Neale as of himself, the queen not appearing to know thereof.”

him a fair and amicable answer, and referred him to her secretary for the official reply. A.D. 1566.

“ In the evening was a great banquet in the large hall, where the queen’s majesty came with both the ambassadors, and so set to supper at a long round board, like Arthur’s board, of each side the queen an ambassador, and so a lady and an earl, to the number of thirty persons at the board, served with two masters of the household, in this form :— There came from the end of the hall a stage drawn up with twelve satyrs, and sitting upon the same stage six nymphs singing, and so against the midst of the board at a place there did ascend ; the stage staid, the satyrs delivered their torches to standers by ; the nymphs arose, and delivered the first service to the satyrs, who carried it to the board, fully as much as did serve it plentifully for the first course : the stage was garnished with laurel. The second course was served with the same stage of satyrs and nymphs as before, saving it was garnished with a main rook ; the third course with a conduit ; the fourth with a child coming out of a globe let down from the top of the hall to light upon the stage, and so rendered an oration by word and writing, with another device after, which could not be brought to pass, for that the stage brake. After supper, there was song and dancing ; that done, we took our leave, and went our way.”¹

¹ Ashmole MSS., No. 7241, vol. 840, p. 99. “ At this last banquet,” says Melville, “ there fell out a great grudge amongst the Englishmen ; for a Frenchman, called Bastian, devised a number of men formed like satyrs, with long tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine, marching, as appeared, alone, with musicians clothed like maids, singing, and playing upon all sorts of instruments. But the satyrs were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in such sort as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, weakly appre-

A.D. 1566. The Earl of Bedford was presented by the queen, on his departure, with a rich chain of diamonds, worth two thousand crowns; Mr. Carey had a chain of pearl and diamond ring; Mr. Hatton a chain with the queen's miniature; and Mr. Lignish, and five others of quality, each a golden chain. Sir James Melville, and many others, were commanded to conduct them on their way; but, before he bade adieu, the earl lamented to Mary the dissension that had grown between her and her husband, being sensibly touched with the indifference and neglect which he himself had witnessed; for, during the late ceremony and festivities, he had scarcely come within sight of the ambassadors; whilst Bothwell was prominent on all occasions, gorgeously apparelled in dresses purchased with the queen's money, and partly wrought by her own hands; and he farther implored Melville to entreat his mistress, for her own honour and the advancement of her affairs, to entertain the king as she had done at the commencement of their marriage.

hending that which they should not have appeared to understand; for Mr. Hatton, Mr. Lignish, and the most part of the gentlemen, desired to sup before the queen and great banquet, that they might see the better the order and ceremonies of the triumph. But so soon as they perceived the satyrs wagging their tails, they all sat down upon the bare floor behind the back of the table, that they might not see themselves derided as they thought. Mr. Hatton said to me, if it were not in the queen's presence he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave, Bastian, who, he alleged, had done it out of despite that the queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen. I excused the matter the best I could; but the noise was so great behind the queen's back, where her majesty and my Lord of Bedford sat, that they heard, and turned about their faces to inquire what the matter meant. I informed them that it was occasioned by the satyrs; so that the queen and my Lord of Bedford had both enough to do to get them appeased. It fell out unhappily at such a time, and the English gentlemen committed a great oversight to notice it as done against them: but my Lord of Bedford was discreet, and interpreted all things to the best."—*Memoirs*, p. 152.

The advice, unfortunately, was little heeded. Before his A.D. 1566. return to Berwick, the earl was invited by Murray to pass a few days with him in Fifeshire. It is possible that he may have gained intelligence of some design on foot prejudicial to the king, as, contrary to all his former policy, he now endeavoured to prevent the pardon and recall of Morton, which was, notwithstanding, signed upon the 24th. On Morton's return, the secret project that had been for some weeks deliberated on was finally concocted, and put in fearful action; and on the night of the 9th of February, a deed was done that transcends in guilt and horror all that the annals of Scotland, fertile in such tragedies, have recorded since the days of the unprincipled Macbeth.

By the murder of the king, and by the after-acts of which it formed the prelude, the queen's affairs, that had borne so bright an aspect, well recognised as her title indubitably would have been, were consigned irretrievably to gloom and ruin. But a mark was set on Bothwell, as upon the earliest murderer; the avengers were behind; and he also was driven from society, a vagabond upon the face of the earth. As regards the unhappy Mary, stripped of all sovereignty, and hopelessly immured in the fortress of Lochleven, our fancy is too warmly borne away by those pictures of her beauty and misfortunes framed in youth, to allow that judgment to have proper scope, which, exercised on all the facts and evidences connected with her fall, might reluctantly be compelled to pronounce it but the doom of justice. To deem her guilty as an accessory to her husband's death, without the most absolute proof, might be an infringement of that blessed charity, which in disputable cases "hopeth all things" for the best;—if innocent, it still becomes a pain to dwell upon her altered fortunes.

A.D. 1567. Elizabeth was in reality offended at the violence used towards her royal sister, and despatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to signify her displeasure to the associated nobles, to comfort and aid in restoring Mary to liberty, and to mediate terms of mutual peace and confidence between them. There is a letter of his extant, written at this juncture to the Earl of Bedford, who, after his return to court, had divided the spring and summer of 1567 between the two residences of his lady at Garendon and Belvoir. He was on his way, notwithstanding an ill state of health, to resume his charge at Berwick when the letter reached him.

SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

My Lord, I think you see and find daily new occasions to give you cause to seek from above the remedy of the disorders committed upon the borders; and my advice to your lordship shall be, that you follow and procure the same with all speed you can:¹ for I perceive and find here that they be shrewdly bent that way, and do mean to do unto you all the displeasure they can so soon as they find the queen's majesty our mistress shall not favour them in these their present actions. As unto the late offence done upon your border, I can assure your lordship it was not by any knowledge from these lords, but only by Farnihurst and his followers, at the solicitation of Bothwell and his friends; for your friends here be sorry for it, and will not let to give you some warning before they break with you, if the same be done by any convenient means. In the mean-

¹ The earl had anticipated this advice by writing to the queen upon the 13th from Newcastle:—"Being come thus far towards my charge, I see such great and manifest likelihoods of the breach of the borders (as I have more particularly written to Mr. Secretary), as I cannot by any means devise how the same should be preserved according to your majesty's expectation, unless it would please your highness to command by your letters your ambassador now in Scotland to treat, while he is there, for order to be taken for the holding and continuance of days of truce, and doing of justice, as hath been accustomed. And I most humbly pray your highness that I may understand your commands in writing, for your better service and my discharge."—*State Paper Office*.

time, my lord, travail for some order from above; for, I promise A.D. 1567. you, it is high time.

And touching myself and my being here, I must confess to your lordship I never was in so busy and dangerous a legation in my life, not knowing almost which way to turn me. These lords have not yet given me any audience, excusing the same by the absence of the Earls of Mar and Glencairn, the Lord Semple, and others of their band, saying, they dare not take upon them the hearing and the answering of so weighty matters without the presence of the whole company: but I take it rather to be used towards me for delay than otherwise, not being in any sort willing that I shall speak with their queen. Notwithstanding I have earnestly pressed the same, and have won one of the wisest amongst them to my desire therein; but no otherwise than that he dare not yet be acknown to the rest of the same; such is their difficulty in this matter. What hereafter may come from them I know not: my perplexity is the more when I remember these men's desires here, and our humours at home, and thereof breedeth my greatest doubt of any good to be done for us in this time.

I have been written unto by the other side, as, namely, by the Hamiltons, the Earl of Argyle, by the Master of Maxwell, and others; and I do bear them all fair in hand, to the end I may the better be able to discover their meanings and designs, although, I must tell you truly, I like nothing of their doings.

The queen is in great danger by reason of the great rage and fury of the people against her. The Earl Bothwell is thought to be in the north parts with the Earl of Huntley and others, to make the best party he can. The Assembly continueth the 20th day of this month, when I think little will be done to the Queen of Scotland's advantage. I do humbly pray your lordship to despatch this packet with great diligence to Mr. Secretary. Thus I do humbly take my leave of your good lordship. At Edinburgh, this 20th of July, 1567. These men have here in pay 450 harquebusiers, in convenient order.

Your good lordship's to use and command,

NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON.¹

¹ Sloane and Birch MSS. No. 4126, a 36.

A.D. 1567.

Sir Nicholas was soon dismissed, receiving on the 26th his final answer. The associated lords assured him, for Bedford's satisfaction, that the disorders in West Teviotdale were committed solely by the lairds of Bothwell's faction; and that there could be no possible cause of complaint against Hume and Cessford, the wardens of their party. In the main object of his mission, Throgmorton was wholly disappointed, being obliged to return without seeing the captive queen; and Mary was very soon compelled to subscribe writings whereby the crown was resigned to her son, and the Earl of Murray appointed regent during his minority.

One of Murray's first acts, after his acceptance of this dignity, was to redress the grievances complained of to him by the earl. For, summoning the gentlemen of Merseshire to a council held for the administration of justice in the eastern marches, he made in person a secret expedition to Hawick in October, attended by the Earl of Morton and the Lords of Home and Lindsay, and executed summary judgment on forty of the Liddesdale thieves, whom he succeeded in securing. The earl waited till this necessary point was accomplished; and, having thus established quiet and good order in his wardenry, he obtained Elizabeth's permission to resign his charge into the hands of his marshal, Sir William Drury. Afterwards, when the fatal battle of Langside rendered the unhappy Mary a fugitive, and the national good faith was violated by detaining her a prisoner, he was much solicited to take the custody of her; but this unthankful office he steadily declined, either from the memory of her former courtesies, from the pity excited by her singular misfortunes, or, which is most probable, from disapproval of the ungenerous policy pursued towards her. He even refused to use his influence with the Lord St. John,

when first requested to persuade that nobleman to the like A.D. 1569. undertaking, and thereby incurred, though it was only for a moment, his royal mistress's displeasure.

From this period the Earl of Bedford's services were principally rendered at the council-table. On the formidable combination among several of the nobles in 1569, excited by the papal see, with the active concurrence of the courts of Spain and France, the object of which was to unite the Queen of Scots with the Duke of Norfolk, and place her on the English throne, he engaged a gentleman to go to Brancepeth Castle, the seat of the Earl of Westmoreland, where the principal conspirators were assembled, to discover their devices and plans of operation.¹ But the re-establishment of the ancient superstition, with all its contemplated changes, was happily averted by the seizure of Norfolk, and by armed preparations, which drove the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland into premature revolt, before the Spanish forces to be landed by the Duke of Alva could be furnished for their assistance. Of those who suffered in this hasty enterprise, the fate of the gallant Norton, and his eight devoted sons, celebrated alike in modern song and in the minstrelsy of their own time,² may suitably engage our pity.

In the following year, the queen upon her progress honoured Chenies with a visit, where she remained with her court for several days. She was much engaged whilst there in the concerns of her borders and of Scotland, where, after the recent murder of the Earl of Murray, the Earl of Lennox was appointed regent. We find the following letter, during the queen's stay at Chenies, from the Earl of Bedford.

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 305.

² Vide Percy's Reliques, vol. i. p. 285; and the "White Doe of Rylstone," by Wordsworth.

TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

A.D. 1570. After my most hearty commendations, I have received now lately from you (within short time the one of the other) two gentle letters; with the first her majesty's good and comfortable despatch of my suit, for the which, besides the bounden duty I owe and have done, I shall remain a continual beseecher to God for her majesty; and to you for your gentleness so friendly to further the same, I shall, without more ceremonious writing, be yours to the best of my power always, as you shall list to prove me; and so, I pray you, as you shall have convenient occasion, with my most humble thanks, to let her majesty understand from me.

In your second letter (albeit some contents of your first I answer not herein) I understand her majesty's coming to Chenies; where, if the house was sweet, and the lodgings commodious, I shall be glad thereof; but as to the soil and seat thereof, as no art nor diligence can amend nature's doings, so am I sorry that it cannot now be amended, if ever it might be for a time, to ease thereby so noble a guest, and so large a train. Touching the More,¹ and the nigh neighbourhood and necessity that Chenies hath of it, I leave to any indifferent consideration; and to you who can so well judge in such cases I say no more, but to repose my whole trust in your friendly solicitation as time shall serve, and the wants of the place where you now be shall minister occasion; which, because they be many and great, will come in place, and be heard, and so become in this mine absence suitors for me to her majesty.

The Earl of Cumberland I have sent away to Oxford; and, according to your advice, have given as great charge as I can, to avoid from him such popish wasps and bees as will be buzzing in his ears, to confirm in him a deafness to true religion, whereof I hope there will be great care had.

As to the election of the Earl of Lennox in Scotland, I am glad to hear thereby of the good consent and conformity of the Protestant lords; but methinks I see no likelihood of continuance of

¹ Probably Moor Park, of which the first earl was ranger, as appears by several of his letters to Secretary Cromwell in the Chapter House, pressing him for various repairs, &c.

Lennox's constancy, nor of their well-doing there, unless the queen's majesty, as the especial and only instrument next under God, do from time to time feed the cold humours of their country with some continual demonstration of her fervency and zeal to the good matter they have taken in hand, which God grant the one frankly to do, and the other fruitfully to accomplish. A.D. 1570.

Your Spanish news from the Duke of Alva I do not so well like: they be sweeter in the mouth than wholesome in digestion: if they had less sugar upon them, I should mistrust them the less; but such baits will not, I hope, entice such as have so good experience of Spain and their practices. As to Felton, God send him and his like their deserts; and if Sir T. Cornwallis and the rest do these things from the heart, and not from the teeth only, I am glad, and do wish that more would follow their example. If, in sequel of things, it fall out otherwise, you know how you have to deal both with dissembling friends and reconciled enemies.

The duke's liberty I should like well of, praying God it may in all things be such as it should be for God's glory and the queen's honour, and that his meaning be as he saith. I send this bearer Harrington, my man, whom I pray you to credit. If there be any thing there that, either for her majesty's more ease, or your quieter lodging in the nursery, he can by any means procure, it shall be done accordingly. To whom I heartily pray you give your advice, how needful you think it that I make some present, or other demonstration of my good meaning, to welcome her majesty to that old house and barren soil; accordingly whereunto he shall be directed, and shall follow the same as you shall think it good. If Sir William Paulett be there at the court, and not yet despatched thence, I heartily pray you shew him your favour and friendly furtherance, for I know he shall have an enemy of my Lord of Leicester: his cause surely I believe is honest and good, and therefore will deserve the better to be considered of, I trust. And now, were it a good time, if it might so please her majesty to think upon some one for the bishopric of Exon; and, if there be not a fitter found out, I could for my opinion of him like well of Mr. Tremayne. I heartily pray you to have it in mind, and to despatch it as you may. So, with my most hearty thanks for all your gentleness past, and for your great good will to think upon the More, I shall remain

A.D. 1571. yours; and so, for this present, I commit you to God. From Coventry, this 23d of July, 1570.

Your right assured friend,

F. BEDFORD.

P.S. I pray you thank my lady for her recommendation to my wife, and we do the same.¹

It is apparent that the Earl of Bedford was entirely favourable to the liberation of the Duke of Norfolk; for, although suspicions still remained unfavourable to his allegiance, the close examinations to which he had been subjected, and the industry of Walsingham and Cecil in unravelling the secrets of the late conspiracy, had failed in attaching to him the guilt of a direct participation in it. Elizabeth, therefore, lent a favourable ear to his supplications for deliverance. But his evil genius, in the person of the papal agent, induced him to forget the salutary warning, and once more to involve himself in that web of treasonable intrigue, which being, mesh by mesh, unwoven, disclosed his present as well as his former guilty projects in their full extent, and again placed him a state-prisoner in the Tower. There is a pathetic depth of feeling in these entreaties for fresh mercy, which must have affected the noblemen to whom they were addressed.

TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD AND OTHERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In most humble wise I beseech your good lordships that it will please the same, of your goodness, to make declaration unto the queen's most excellent majesty, of my sorrowful and penitent heart, for the grievous offences which I most wretchedly have committed, seeking no wise to excuse myself; but even as I have plainly declared unto your lordships (as far as memory would serve me), so do I lay myself, my cause, my poor children, and all that I have, prostrate at her majesty's feet, wishing, that with the best

¹ Haynes' Collections, p. 598.

of my heart's blood I were able to make some satisfaction, and A.D. 1571.
then her highness should have trial how willingly I would spend it. I trust her most gracious majesty will rather, with her most pitiful eyes, look upon my meaning than upon my deserts, by the severity of her highness's laws. God is my judge that I never did act neither by plain writing, nor yet by cipher, nor yet by assenting or consenting to any other which might turn to the prejudice of her majesty's most royal person, or detriment of her highness's noble dominions.

I would to God I were as able to deny those my undutiful parts, which I cannot excuse, both in hearing and reading those persons and writings, the memory whereof I do so much detest. Protesting unto your good lordships, that if either by your commandments I shall be asked of any other point that is not yet in my confession, or that I shall call any other thing to my memory, to make true declaration thereof, whether it touch myself, or any body else. And so, hoping more in her majesty's most gracious clemency than in my own evil deserts, the rather by your lordships' most humble suit in my wretched behalf, hoping even so of the rest of my good lords which be not here, I do most humbly take my leave. Your good lordships'

Most humble, sorrowful, and penitent orator,

From the Tower, this 11th October, 1571.

NORFOLK.

The risk of again exposing the kingdom to the momentous dangers from which it had but so narrowly escaped, must have precluded much farther interference in the duke's favour even by those who most felt for his condition. The Earl of Bedford was amongst the peers who sat upon his trial. On being adjudged guilty of the charges brought against him, the duke acknowledged, in letters to the queen, her patient forbearance, and his own participation in treasonable practices; and, though he limits their extent, admits the impartiality of the tribunal that consigned him to the scaffold.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO THE
EARL'S DECEASE.

A.D. 1572—1585.

Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Woburn Abbey, July 1572... Family of the Earl... Edward, lord Russell... Lord Francis at the siege of Edinburgh Castle, May 1573; and in the "Raid of the Reidswire," July 7, 1575... John, lord Russell... Grand christening of his daughter, Oct. 27... Sir William Russell... Elizabeth, countess of Bath... Margaret, countess of Cumberland... Earl of Bedford a commissioner in the projected marriage with the Duke of Anjou, 1585... Last illness of the earl... His death, July 28... Border meeting at Hexpeth-gate-head... Treacherous slaughter of Francis, lord Russell, by the Scots, July 27, 1585... Character of the second Earl of Bedford... Demise of the countess.

A.D. 1572. IN the July of 1572, Queen Elizabeth, with the principal officers of her court and household, visited the Earl of Bedford, at his seat of Woburn Abbey.¹ The house had then undergone few, if any, material alterations from its first monastic character, when founded by Hugh de Bolebec, one of the barons of King Stephen's reign, for a colony of Cistercian monks from Fountains abbey. The "abbot's tree" and the refectory are all that now remain to excite any vivid associations of these bygone times. Upon the former, the last monastic ruler of the house, who in arms resisted

¹ Of this mansion, J. F. Robinson, the architect, has published, in folio, a magnificent series of Illustrations, consisting of outline engravings of the principal interior apartments, and an elaborate pictorial view from the adjoining grounds; to which is appended a summary history of the Abbey,—as the first number of a more extended series of Noblemen's Seats, under the title of "Vitruvius Britannicus," which, if encouraged to its completion, would do infinite honour to the fine arts, as well as to the national taste.

the arbitrary will of the eighth Henry, expiated his offence; A.D. 1572. and the latter, at the period of which we write, may have furnished Elizabeth with marchpane, hippocras, and all the other curious viands which pleased the palates of our ancestors. The hospitality which the Earl of Bedford exercised was such as to have passed into a proverb; the queen herself being accustomed to declare, that "whilst some noblemen made many poor by oppression, he and Edward earl of Derby made by their liberality all the beggars in her kingdom;"¹ yet we find the Earl of Bedford, upon this occasion, making suit to Lord Burleigh to manage for him "that her tarriance were not above two nights and a day;"² so burdensome even to the most generous and noble was the entertainment of that numerous train which attended in the wake of this state-keeping princess, when she made one of her progresses.

From this passing allusion to the festivities of the earl's household, the transition is natural to his family, the various members of which, as his house is said, by the domestic chaplain of one of his surviving sons, to have been "a very school of virtue," grew naturally up in the exercise of the same duties, graces, and accomplishments that rendered the sire himself so truly estimable.

Of Edward lord Russell, the earl's eldest son, whom Pietro Bizzari has complimented in an elegant Latin ode,³ but

¹ Lloyd, vol. i. p. 433.

² Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. ii. p. 267.

³ Of which the following are the concluding stanzas:—

Ad Edvardum Rossellum.

Tu, Rosselle, viro natus es optimo
Et matre optimâ, avo consimili quoque,
Talesque ordine longo
Hic vestra enumerat domus.

A.D. 1572. few particulars are known. He was married, probably about this period, to Jane Sibylla, daughter of Sir Richard Morrison,¹ of which lady also no other memorial remains, than that, becoming a young widow, without any offspring by Lord Russell, she remarried with Arthur, baron Grey, of Wilton, a brave and honourable captain, who, after distinguishing his youth in the Scottish wars wherein his father perished, served as lord-deputy of Ireland, where he suppressed the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond.² A painting was taken of Lord Edward in 1573, so that his death must have occurred in some succeeding year. He is pictured, at the age of twenty-two, in a white close jacket and black bonnet, with a cloak of black and gold, grasping in one hand a coil of snakes, with the motto, "*Fides homini, serpentibus fraus!*" and re-appearing in the back-ground bewildered in a labyrinth, above which is an inscription, "*Fata viam invenient!*"

His te dissimilem non fore, singuli
Credunt; quivis enim te patris autumat
Et splendoris aviti
Omninò fore imaginem.

Hujus clara viri gloria perpetim
Floret, nec poterit oblivionibus
Ullis esse sepulta,
Donec cincta mari Anglia.

Alter vivit adhuc magnus honoribus,
Et magnus meritis. Hunc tu etiam sequens,
Descendentibus ex te
Fies lux imitabilis!

¹ Arms; Or, on a chief *gules*, 3 chaplets of the field.

² His seat was at Whaddon, in Bucks. A shot which he received in the shoulder at the siege of Leith inspired him with a constant antipathy against the Scots. He was eminent, says Lloyd, for three things:—1, for prudence; 2, for despatch, San Joseph not having been a week in Ireland before he had environed him by sea and land; and, lastly, for his resolution, inasmuch that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag, inscribed, "*Misericordia, misericordia!*"

A painting of equal singularity, at Woburn Abbey, introduces us to the person of the earl's third son, Francis. His habiliments are like his brother's; but in the background is represented a lady, sitting in the midst of snakes, a dragon, crocodile, and cock, the ancient symbols of ingratitude and insincerity; whilst, farther in the distance, a ship appears with its canvass fully set, and steering from the shore. These accompaniments have piqued the curiosity of various individuals; but one writer in particular has set his ingenuity to work, to discover the concealed meaning that may be thought to lurk beneath them. The fanciful eye of Mr. Pennant sees in these two brothers the prototypes of those whom Otway introduces in his "Orphan;" and assures his readers, without any hesitation, that some similar passage in their lives to the story there unveiled, assuredly gave rise to that too daring tragedy. But his assertion, besides being unsupported by evidence, is quite contradicted by the fact; as the editor of Otway¹ gives the actual incidents which furnished his author with the groundwork of that play, and which refer alone to the person of Charles Brandon, the celebrated Duke of Suffolk of a former reign. It is impossible that either the virtuous Earl of Bedford or his sons should have consented to the introduction of any imagery in connexion with their portraits calculated to implicate their character by the enduring stigma that would thus be fixed upon them. That the real circumstances shadowed out by the above devices were of common interest to the two brothers, may fairly be surmised; but if the mystery could now be clearly ascertained, it would possibly be found to resolve itself into some object of their early admiration—some Lady Geraldine, who,

¹ Thornton's Otway, Appendix, vol. iii.

A.D. 1573. after practising successively with her coquettish beauty on the fortunes and confiding hearts of the two brothers, at an age when the affections, like Lord Surrey's, were unsuspecting, susceptible, and pure, and after involving both in a maze of hopes, of fears, and fond perplexities, similar to those which the noble Surrey suffered, was convicted of ingratitude or perfidy, and finally discarded by them, in the true spirit of the exquisite address subjoined.¹

¹ I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair,
 And I might have gone near to love thee,
 Had I not found the slightest prayer
 That lips could speak had power to move thee :
 But I can let thee now alone,
 As worthy to be loved by none.

I do confess thou'rt sweet ; yet find
 Thee such an unthrift of thy sweets,
 Thy favours are but like the wind,
 That kisseth every thing it meets ;
 And since thou canst with more than one,
 Thou'rt worthy to be kissed by none.

The morning rose, that untouched stands,
 Arm'd with her briars, how sweetly smells !
 But pluck'd and strain'd through ruder hands,
 Her sweet no longer with her dwells ;
 But scent and beauty being gone,
 Her leaves fall from her one by one.

Such fate, ere long, will thee betide,
 When thou hast handled been awhile !
 Like sere flowers to be thrown aside ;
 And I shall sigh, while some will smile,
 To see thy love to every one
 Hath brought thee to be loved by none !²

² Ellis's Spec. of Early Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 325. It is remarkable that a poem, which would do honour to the taste and tenderness of the first melodist of our own times, and which surpasses immeasurably the lyrics of the reign of Charles I., to which period its composition is ascribed, should be the production of an unknown writer.

But, after all, it must be remembered that the portraits A.D. 1573. were painted in an age fond of forced symbolical conceit and overstrained allusion ; and that whilst the principal personage of the kingdom was the patroness of pageants couched in every form of allegory and fable, it is next to impossible but that the fancy of these youths should be infected with a like taste, the tendency of which was to invest the simplest incidents of life with mystery or importance.

But to quit surmise for certainty,—it is unquestionable that Sir Francis was a youth of high spirit and undaunted prowess. His early inclination led him to the camp, and his father's office on the Scottish borders pointed out the field where he might soonest hope to reap distinction. Being received by Sir John Forster, warden of the Middle Marches, whose seat was at Alnwick Abbey, into one of the companies which he commanded, he was initiated into military service by that hardy and experienced chieftain. Though the period when he passed into Northumberland was not the golden age of border chivalry, (if the term may be allowed), it was still the day of the Douglas and the Percy—the day of feud and foray, of armed “ huntings of the deer with hound and horn,” of fierce and emulous reprisals, and of all that chance and change of border war which is commended to our fancy in such lively colours by the interesting reliques of our ruder minstrelsy and the romantic legends of tradition. Into the stirring charm of such a life he appears to have entered with unusual ardour ; and having gained the affections of the warden's daughter, Juliana, to have readily adopted the usages and habits peculiar to a border chieftain.

His first military expedition was the raid of Sussex and Lord Scroop, in 1570, when, in reprisal for two forays made by Herries and Lord Maxwell, they entered Annandale, fired

A.D. 1573. the villages and towns, razed the storied castle of Caerlaverock, and compelled the Dukes Châtelrault, Argyle, and Huntley, by a bond under their hands and seals, to abstain from war, and to forsake the cause of Neville and Percy, the rebellious heads of the northern insurrection. For his valour in this enterprise, he was knighted by Lord Sussex. He was united to the lady of his affections¹ on the 15th of April in the following year, when also he was returned to parliament for the county of Northumberland. In the many border conflicts that succeeded, Sir Francis uniformly displayed a bravery and contempt of danger that greatly endeared him to the marchmen whom he commanded. He accompanied Sir William Drury to the siege of Edinburgh Castle in 1573, and is celebrated by an anonymous metrical recorder of that conquest, as one of the noble captains having charge in the expedition whose arms facilitated its success.² The castle was defended bravely by Kirkaldy of Grange and the Lord Hume, at the head of but few forces; so that with only six hundred men-at-arms Sir William thought it would be easily reduced; but in effect the ramparts proved so strong, that they withstood his efforts three-and-thirty days. The battery began on the 18th of May, and played four days, with little intermission, from the mounts thrown up around, the shot being directed chiefly against David's Tower; to which the besieged with their ordnance dauntlessly replied, burying with their balls many soldiers in the earth, and frightening away the cannoneers from their pieces, till the general reassured them, by seizing a lintstock, and giving fire to the tube with his own hand. The Maiden Tower, as it was called, being at length with difficulty bat-

¹ Arms; *Argent*, a chevron *vert* between 3 bugle horns stringed *sable*.

² "Sege of the Castell of Edinburgh. Imprinted in 1573."

tered down, another bulwark called the Spur¹ was attempted A.D. 1573. by scalade, and the ladders were mounted sword in hand. To create a diversion, a simultaneous attack was made upon the breach at the back part of the castle, where, however, the assailants were repulsed with loss. To the service of the escalade were principally appointed men of meaner reputation, though of daring courage; but the danger of the enterprise probably allured Sir Francis Russell to exceed his instructions, as, instead of merely directing the movements of the soldiery under his command, he took a conspicuous share in the hazardous attempt. It was crowned with full success; the tower was won; but Sir William Drury was so sensible of the rashness of his conduct, that he instantly committed him to ward; having received a special charge from the queen, to have particular regard to the safety of Sir Francis, as of one in whose well-being she felt no ordinary interest. The castle yielded on the following day; but the brave Kirkaldy paid with his head the penalty of the capitulation, although a hundred of his clan offered themselves to be perpetual retainers of the regent, to pay down twenty thousand pounds of Scottish money, and a further yearly pension of three thousand marks, if he would forego this price of his resentment, and spare to them a chieftain so deservedly beloved.

The next affair in which Sir Francis was engaged, was attended with less happy consequences to the forces on the English pale. The Regent Morton, to oblige the English

¹ The spirit that influenced the men when notice of the intended charge was given, together with some other incidents of the siege, are happily enough described by a clever but long-neglected writer of that age, in a pamphlet entitled "Churchyard's Chippes,"² which is now become extremely rare.

² Small 4to, 1575.

A.D. 1575. court, had had a conference with Sir John Forster, on measures for redressing past, and preventing future grievances. The principal families upon the Scottish borders being compelled to deliver pledges for their good behaviour, and wardens being appointed in whom the regent could confide, there seemed every prospect that mutual harmony would at length be firmly established. But the insubordinate character and predatory habits of the border clans rendered this at all times a measure of great difficulty.

On the last day of June, 1575, Sir John Forster and Sir John Carmichael, deputy-warden or keeper of Liddesdale, met at Hexpeth-gate-head, and agreed to hold a day of truce at Remelpeth on the 7th of July.¹ Now, this very appointment was an error on Sir John's part; for governors were not wont to meet but with governors, nor wardens but with wardens; so that his consent to parley with a keeper, although that keeper was a gentleman of high credit with the regent, and, in fact, allied to him by marriage with his sister, was a real compromise of dignity. After the English warden had issued his letters for the meeting, Carmichael sent word that he could not come, unless Sir John would consent to meet him at the Reidswire, which was a part of the Carter Mountain, about ten miles from Jedburgh, in the Debatable Land, or district common to the two kingdoms. Forster, after consulting with his friends, agreed to the change of place, as he had more bills in hand for demand of justice than the Scottish keeper. The summons was on each side well obeyed. With Forster came the Redesdale and the Tynedale clans, with others from Cukdale and Gladsdale, the powerful Fen-

¹ The particulars of the incidents here narrated are drawn from the Earl of Huntingdon's original despatches to the English court, which are to be seen among the Cottonian Manuscripts, Caligula, C v. p. 35, &c.

wicks, the Shaftons, the marchmen attendant on Sir Francis Russell, and the various retinues of Sir George Heron of Chipchase Castle, of Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, and Sir James Ogle, knights of some renown in war, and of unblemished border reputation. Carmichael, upon his part, besides his own retainers, summoned those of Douglas and Buccleugh; Liddesdale furnished her Craysers, Elliots, and Armstrongs; Teviotdale her Rutherfords and Trumbulls; and, with other surnames of inferior note, the borderers dependant on the Lairds of Cranstone and Gladstone, Bethrule and Boonjedworth. But, besides this chivalry, both parties were accompanied by a number of freebooters, some of whom were to be called on for the thefts they had committed, whilst others, both as clans and individuals, bore deadly and inveterate feud, of which one instance may suffice. About thirty years before this period, a Fenwick had been slain by one of the Craysers, and the act had been accompanied with some circumstances of extraordinary cruelty. The resentment thereby caused had been cherished, and the deed in part avenged; yet not so fully as to satisfy the clan: so that three years past they had drawn to their assistance one John of the Stonehouse, an athletic borderer, under whose guidance they took a ride into Liddesdale by night, and appeased their rancour by slaying some of the Craysers in their beds. It is uncertain whether any satisfaction for this atrocity had yet been taken by the injured party; but at all events, it could not have been either forgiven or forgotten. There were one or two other predisposing causes of excitement; for this same redoubted John of the Stonehouse having been a receiver, during the late troubles, of some Scottish rebels, and especially of some of Farnihurst's retainers, had been claimed by Carmichael, and delivered

A.D. 1575. up to justice by Sir George Heron, the Redesdale keeper—a step upon which Forster felt so strongly, that he suspended Heron from his office for a while, although nearly related to himself; and to reclaim this hardy moss-trooper was one of the warden's objects in condescending to the present meeting. It appears, moreover, that Sir John had reciprocated to some exiled Elliots the protection which the Scottish wardens lent to English fugitives—a fact which may have induced him to come with greater numbers than usual, being attended, says a border ballad, with more than two thousand men, including “a flock of five hundred Fenwicks,” who came upon the moors after the rest were assembled.

Yet the half-armed state in which both parties proceeded to the Heath of Justice precludes the idea of any disagreement being contemplated. The Scottish men, upon their own admission, “had pistolets enow,” and some had bills, and spears, and bows in plenty; but the greater number had only with them the most ordinary weapons of defence, a dagger or chance pistol, and, for the safeguard of the person, a jack, or scull-cap, or plate-sleeves. The two parties also met with such salutations as indicated general good-will; they turned abroad, as was the practice, their horses on the heath to graze; and banqueted or drank together before proceeding to business. Meanwhile, the migratory merchants, attracted thither by the hope of finding a market for their wares, opened their bales and trinkets to the gaze of the more idle; others amused themselves with cards and games of chance; and in the midst of these occupations the session was begun.

To remove all cause for argument and futile pleas between themselves, the English warden proposed that six gentlemen of each nation should be constituted assessors, for the settlement of any disputable points that might arise, by reference

to the treaties and laws of the marches ; but this Carmichael A.D. 1575. thought proper to decline ; and they accordingly began, by the commissioners' book, to do summary justice, in their own persons, upon the various cases entered on their lists. They proceeded amicably together for three or four hours, till they came to a bill against one Henry Robson of Tyne-dale,¹ which was already *fouled* conditionally, that is, noted as a true indictment. Robson being called for, the warden-serjeant answered he was sick : being asked to swear this, he declined. Carmichael thereupon demanded justice, and Forster bade the bill be written *foul*. Delivery of it being called for, Sir John desired the keeper to forbear it till the following truce-day, when the sick man might be present to hear the swearing of the bill, according to the rule of border law.

The keeper, considering this a mere pretext to avoid making compensation, declared, with great impetuosity, that no justice was to be had, either of the English warden or his keeper, but only protection of fugitives and traitors, and that he was influenced to this, lest his kine and sheep should be harried, that lay so near the borders,—a strong and serious imputation ! Forster answered, that kine and sheep upon the borders should be no hinderance of justice ; and he would compel restitution of three for one, according to the treaties, if any of his borderers should be convicted of driving a prey ; adding, that for all *attemptats* that might be brought against them, he would *speer, file*, and make a regular delivery. It is fair, perhaps, to suppose that this reply, however proper, was delivered with some degree of heat, or with an imperturbable coolness yet more provoking than anger : for Car-

¹ Godscroft calls him Farnstein ; but our account is taken from the State Papers in the British Museum, the correctness of which can scarcely be questioned : most of the particulars here given are published now for the first time.

A.D. 1575. michael sharply retorted, that he had equal powers for Scotland, was as good a gentleman as Forster, and come of quite as good a lineage. "Now not so," replied Sir John; "you can scarcely have equal powers with me, when I am warden to the Queen of England, and you are but the keeper of Liddesdale!" At this, the Jedburgh soldiery around exclaimed aloud to each other, "I say, I say! comparison, comparison!" The tumult grew; the slogan cry was raised, "A Jedworth! a Jedworth!" The Craysers, exulting in the opportunity furnished by the uproar for avenging their slain friends, snatched up their weapons, and betook them to the quarrel, and other clans to clans with whom they were at feud. The first arrow that was loosed is said to have been shot by Martin Crayser: it struck and wounded William Fenwick of Wallington, in sight of his whole clan. A fuller flight succeeded, and did sorer execution, slaying Robert Shafton and two Fenwicks, and wounding Sir Francis Russell and many others of less note. Both wardens interposed; but not in time to stay the mischief. The English archers, to the cries of "A Fenwick, a Fenwick!" "A Tynedale, a Tynedale!" answered the assault by a sheaf of arrows upon their side, slew one Symstone, lamed the Laird of Mow, and wounded others. In the first shock of conflict, the Scots were beaten back, and Carmichael was taken prisoner. Whilst in the warden's hands, he ceased not to lament the accident, and protested that if he had his liberty, he would quell the tumult, and hang a hundred of his men upon the mountain for their work that day. Hearing this declaration, the Laird of Boonjedworth, one of the chief Douglasses, requested Forster to allow him to depart, in order that the skirmish might be sooner over. The wish was acceded to, and the English warden used all his efforts, both by blast of bugle

and by open proclamation, to recall the Tynedale troops, who, A.D. 1575. after putting the Scots to flight, having no feud to gratify, had fallen upon the pedlars, and were busy with the pillage of their merchandise. At this juncture, a fresh body of Jedburgh citizens and craftsmen came upon the field: they saw the English marchmen in disorder, and their friends in flight; and whilst Forster and his gentlemen, "standing upon English ground, without armour, and in peaceful expectation that Carmichael would fulfil his promise," and whilst his own men, now reclaimed from the plunder, went to mount their horses, the whole force under the Scottish keeper, returned upon the sudden, with pennoncelles flying to the sound of drum and bugle, made a charge upon the party with both horse and foot, slew in the onset Sir George Heron and others of the warden's men, and maintained, for three miles along the moors, their chase of the indignant fugitives. Five-and-twenty of the English perished in this fatal raid; but the death of Sir George Heron was the heaviest felt; for being highly estimated by the marchmen of both borders, his loss was regretted and bewailed by all. The Scotch also lost one leader of distinction; for the Laird of Mow died of his wounds; but the treachery which had been practised caused the conflict to be more fatal to the English, and to be more bitterly remembered by them. Forster and Russell were both carried away captive, together with Collingwood, Ogle, Henry Fenwick, and numerous other gentlemen; and, with a prey of thirty score of cattle, were taken to the town of Jedburgh, where the Earl of Angus lay. As the earl was lieutenant of all the Scottish marches, the prisoners expected to be set at liberty by him; but he conveyed them onward to Dalkeith, where the Regent Morton, who deeply regretted the breach of peace between

A.D. 1575. the kingdoms, received and entertained them with great courtesy and kindness; but detained them for a while, till the heat of their resentment cooled, and then dismissed them with many expressions of regard. The Scottish writers, as might be expected, lay the blame of the transaction on the English warden; but as his own official statement rebuts the accusations of his opponents, and as he expressed his willingness, and even desire, that his conduct might be inquired into by Scottish commissioners alone, there exists no just ground for believing him to be other than the innocent cause of the contention.¹ Nothing could exceed the indignation of Elizabeth, when she heard of the conflict; for, believing it to have been meditated in contempt of the English nation, she chose to regard it in the light of a personal affront. "Neither," says Camden, "could the terrified regent satisfy her, until he came, unarmed, to the Bound-Rood, on the very borders of both kingdoms, and there, with most complimentary words, promised to the Earl of Huntingdon, the English commissioner, to cover by the best offices" these unfortunate occurrences. She was pacified by his farther consent to deliver up "his dearest friend Carmichael," who was kept awhile at York in free custody, and finally dismissed, not without acknowledgments that

¹ The ballad in Scott's "Border Minstrelsy," written evidently by a warm partisan of the Scottish party, only half assumes the fact of his being in fault.

"Who did invent that day of play,
We need not fear to find him soon;
For Sir John Forster, I *dare well say*,
Made us this noisome afternoon.
Not that I speak preceislie out
That he supposed it would be perril;
But pride, and breaking out of feuid,
Garr'd Tindaill lads begin the quarrel."

evinced her earnest desire to maintain an amicable understanding between the borderers of both nations.¹ A.D. 1575.

The silence of history relative to the early life of John, the second son of the Earl of Bedford, and, by writ

¹ The events that were constantly struck out by these collisions in the marches furnished rich materials of interest to the harper, which, judging from the specimens that have survived to our own days, were rarely overlooked; and, in almost every case, the writer gave a tinge of his own feelings to the occurrence which he celebrated. The author of these memoirs may perhaps be permitted to claim the like privilege; and, owing to the rudeness of the old ballad, to substitute the one which follows. The day of border story was fast approaching to its sunset: it closes thirty years after the period of which we write, with the succession of James of Scotland to the English throne.

THE RAID OF THE REIDSWIRE.

O, sweet on Alnwick's towers at morn,
The woodbine shakes its scented bells;
And stately stands at gaze the fawn,
That haunts their cloistered holts and dells.
But sweeter than the scented flower,
And statelier than the woodland hind,
Who yet in the Abbey's oriel tower
Stands, wooed by morn's mellifluous wind?

O, 'tis not that the wind blows free,
That there the Lady Julian stands;
It is, 'twixt sigh and smile, to see
Her gallant sire's departing bands.
For Scotland holds a truce to-day,
And, though the Tynedale ranks are good,
Yet Liddesdale lads may drive a prey,
And Howes or Fenwicks fall to feud.

From Solway Moss to Berwick Law
No nobler marchmen e'er were seen,
Of all that traverse moor or shaw,
Or drive the deer in forest green.
There wind they through the braes and brooms,
And by the light that sunrise flings,
To her—midst mantles, scarfs, and plumes—
They seem a clan of star-crown'd kings.

A.D. 1575. of parliament, Baron Russell, has induced this later mention of him. Yet his personal merits could scarcely have been surpassed by those of his two brothers; as in the previous year, 1574, he had the happiness to be united

Of all their chieftains marked she one,
 Who, following with reverted eye,
 Unfurled his pennon to the sun,
 And tossed his gentle goshawk by.
 His base and surcoat grained with gold,
 Of lofty lineage spoke the youth;
 But more, the bearing frank and bold,
 And dauntless brow of manly truth.

Her heart went with him, for she knew
 That dark-eyed bird with golden bells,
 And lion *gules* that ramped to view,
 Beneath his stainless scallop-shells.
 She watched him o'er the braes with wo—
 She watched him through the brooms with pride—
 Then sudden closed her bower-window,
 And kissed her slumbering child, and sighed.

Already bowned for Carter Fell,
 Carmichael's Scottish clans convene,
 With jack, with spear, with pennoncelle,
 And Jeddart-axe borne far between.
 From swire and haugh, from cairn and cross,
 From Allan's water, bright and blue,
 Young Walter Scott o'er moor and moss,
 Brought up the spears of brave Buccleugh.

The Armstrongs bold from Blackburnside,
 In moonlight raid ne'er known to fail,
 And Elliot, with his sons of pride,
 Brought down the rest of Liddesdale.
 Then Teviotdale sent to her powers—
 Boonjeddart, with his tough black bills,
 Cranstone and Gladstone from their bowers,
 The Douglas from his heathy hills.

O'er Hawick and Rule-Water, loud
 The Trumbulls raise their gathering cry,
 And, led by Rutherford the proud,
 Old Jedburgh's brawny sons reply;

with the lady Hobby, who, under the tuition of Sir Anthony A.D. 1575.
Cooke,¹ her father, had, with her four sisters, obtained great
celebrity for erudition and high classical attainments. Sir
Anthony (whose residence was at Gidea Hall in Essex,) is

And thither came the Laird of Mow,
Huntley and earnest Ederstain,
Hunthill, considerate of his vow,
And Bethrule, in his wintry wane.

But whoso gazed o'er Coquet-Head,
Saw, sooth to say, a braver sight—
The princely clans by Forster led,
So mild in peace, so fierce in fight.
There mustered Glendale's hardy sons,
From Cheviot to far Etal bower ;
From Rosedean Edge the Ildertons,
And Claverings from Callaly tower.

And Eslington obeyed the call,
And Edlingham his bugle blew ;
The Rodhams came scarce armed, with all.
Round whom the Russell lion flew.
Nor guile nor war the Shaftons feared,
Of those whom pastoral Redesdale sent,
But lingered as the prey appeared,
And flew their falcons as they went.

'Twas different with the Fenwick clan,
They had their honour to maintain,
If e'er the Craysers feud began,
Or flouted Aynsley and Loraine.
And many a bow, and many a blade,
Old Tynedale's merry marchmen bare,
Albeit no pennons were displayed,
Nor shout nor clangour rent the air.

With all their chivalry in selle,
The crested chiefs come cheerly in,
Whence frowns the fir o'er Halton dell,
Whence foams the wave o'er Hareshaw-Linn,—

¹ Arms; Or, a chevron chequy *gules* and *azure*, between 3 cinquefoils of the second.

A.D. 1575. characterised by Camden as a man of the ancient equanimity and virtue; and by the few lights that are left by contemporary writers, we may clearly recognise in him, as well as in Sir Thomas More, whom he in many points resembled,

Thirlwall, and Fetherstone, and Carr,
 The Nevilles high, the Charltons hot,
 And Heron, seamed with many a scar
 In battle with the border Scot.

Yet met they as in bower or hall,
 For plumes were vailed, and greetings paid;
 The merchants spread their packs, and all
 Went merry as a masquerade:
 And still thronged in from down and dale,
 The Kirkstones there, the Selbies here,
 Like flocks of muirfowl on the gale,
 Or herds of Albyn's dark-brown deer.

The wardens sat — the bills were tried —
 And some were *speered*, and some were *sped*,
 Till Robson, on the English side,
 Was called, and entered "*sair bested*."
 "Ye swear him sick?" exclaimed the Scot,
 "Then yield the forfeit writings here:"
 "Now nay," said Forster, "spare the blot,
 Next tryst-day shall the knave appear."

"Ye play me false," Carmichael cried,
 And sternly touched his sworded hilt;
 "Let kerns," the Forester replied,
 "Tax fair with foul, and truth with guilt.
 Know, justice fares in Tynedale chase,
 As amply as on Liddesdale lea;
 And sorely might he rue the case,
 Dare cast a stain on mine or me.

"Albeit his bride *were* an earl's sister,
 And mine but the slip of a belted knight,
 Beshrew me, but my sword, fair sir,
 Should set the challenged reckoning right!"
 O, wrathful waxed the Keeper then —
 His eye flashed fire — he fumed — he frowned:
 "What! makes he menace?" cried his men,
 And seized their bills, and gathered round.

the severe and serious wisdom tempered by amenity, and A.D. 1575.
enlivened by touches of the chastest humour,¹ which gives
us back the image of those elder times when philosophy
had all the sweetness ascribed to it by Milton, and exer-

Their slogan shout was "Jedworth ho!"

The Grames and Craysers raised the yell;
First Martin strung his tough yew bow,
And sternly smiled as Fenwick fell.

His step-son next the shaft essays,
Hoarse twangs the string, the feather flies,
And all is uproar and amaze,
Where Russell bleeds, and Shafton dies.

"Off, off!" our warden cried amain,
"Strike down yon banner, still your brawls!"

"Tis vain," the Russell sighed, "'tis vain;
See Chipchase widowed, Heron falls!"

The knight his weapon grasped a space.
Just chid his murderer with a sigh,—
Then ashy grew his manly face,
And dark his late illumined eye.

He took Sir John Forster by the hand,
And laid his head upon Russell's knee,
"Farewell!" said he, "Northumberland!
I have lived, and loved, and bleed for thee!"—

His lady looks out at her high hall door,
His children sport in the birken field;
But Sir George Heron is now no more,
He sleeps afar on his stainless shield!

A mingled shout of rage and wo
Broke forth from all that mustered band;
"Now, Tynedale, bid thy bugles blow,
And up for high Northumberland!"

¹ The following anecdote is on record of his wit: A Sussex knight, having spent a great estate at court, and brought himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain at it the king (Edward the Sixth), and to that end had newly blazoned his gates with a coat of arms, and a motto overwritten, thus: $\overline{\text{OIA}}$ VANITAS, in great golden letters. Sir Anthony offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by $\overline{\text{OIA}}$, who told him it stood for OMNIA. "Sir," replied Sir Anthony, "I wonder that, having made your *omnia* so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your *vanitas* so large!"

A.D. 1575. cised a high, a happy, and an every-day influence upon all the duties, graces, and charities of life. He had succeeded to an estate raised by his father's industry, but he may be regarded, notwithstanding, as himself the chief

With bill, with spear, and bended bow,
They ply the terrible attack,
Strike many a haughty marchman low,
And beat the Liddesdale archers back.

Athwart the swire they turn, they flee,
And climb the heathery brae, pell-mell ;
Five hundred footmen there they see,
Come pacing down the ash-tree dell.
“ Now toss your bonnets to the skies,
Our Jedworth blades shall turn the scales,
And, of a truth, yon knaves are wise,
They stoop to truss the pedlars' bales !”

No rest ; no ruth ; they raise the shout,
“ Fye, Tynedale, to it ! Jedburgh's here !”
And bows are bent, and bills are out,
And booming bullets stun the ear :
Who stands must strive, who strives must fall,—
The plunderer leaves his rifled hoard,
For round him is the marksman's ball,
Behind, the red revenging sword.

A false game then Carmichael played,
As captive on the moor he stood ;
He heard the slogan cry, and prayed
To still the tumult, quell the feud :
“ But let me with Boonjeddart hie,
And if I have my own good will,
I'll shortly stint their savage cry,
And hang a hundred on the hill.”

• • •
“ But out on him for a traitor vilde !—
Wo worth the hour, wo worth the day,—
He has driven our merry men over the wild,
And carried our bravest knights away !
And though unscathed they do not ride,
Since Mow is lamed, and Symstone slain,
Yet ne'er shall gallant Heron guide
His border clans to the tryst again !”

artificer of the fortunes of his house. He left the uni- A.D. 1575.
versity, eminent in the whole circle of sciences and arts.
The admirable education which he gave to the Lord
Seymour's son, led that nobleman to recommend him as
one of the tutors to his nephew, Prince Edward; and
as it was his maxim, that sexes as well as souls are equal
in capacity, he is said to have instilled that learning into
his daughters at night which he taught the prince by day.
"His first care," says Lloyd, "was to embue their infancy
with a knowing, serious, and sober religion, which went
with them to their graves; and his next, to inure their
youth to obedience and modesty:" yet, whilst sedulously
cultivating their talents, until they were as celebrated for
their learning as though it had engaged their sole atten-
tion, he taught them to regard all study as a recreation,
and to place their real business, in the words of an old
writer, in the needle in the closet, and housewifery in the
kitchen and the hall. He was accustomed to observe, "that
there were three things before whom he could not do wrong—

Thus spoke the page, with a face of wo,
In the arched oriel as he stood,
And drew the bonnet o'er his brow,
To wipe away the stain of blood.
The Ladye heaved nor sigh nor groan,
But bowed, until the pang was fled;
Then paced apart her lone hearthstone,
And sadly shook her thoughtful head.

"My husband and sire in the Scots' countrie,
These shall the Morton soon restore;
But O, my kinsman kind, for thee
My bosom bleeds, my tears run o'er!
Now moan, now moan, thou good greyhound,
And tear thy locks, thou winsome maid;
For the noblest knight upon English ground
Is perished in the Reidswire Raid!"

A.D. 1575. his prince, his conscience, and his children." The habitual circumspection and respect towards them which this implies, harmonises well with what he wrote to one of them—"my example is your inheritance, and my life your portion." Under the mingled love and awe inspired by his character and precepts, he in a great measure realised his most solicitous desire, which was, "that his daughters might have for their husbands complete or perfect men, and that their husbands might be happy in complete women." It was the natural consequence of an education conducted on such principles, that "they should be guided in marriage more by his reason than his will,—be rather directed by his counsel than led by his authority." Elizabeth was his fourth daughter;¹ she had married first Sir Thomas Hobby,² who was sent upon an embassy to France, where he died in 1566. Whilst recent from her loss, she was honoured with a letter of the kindest condolence from Elizabeth, who could not avoid apprising her of her especial favour, in terms which give us a high opinion of the lady's merits:

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE LADY HOBBY.

Madam,—Although we hear that since the death of your husband, our late ambassador, Sir Thomas Hobby, you have received in France great and comfortable courtesies from the French king, the queen mother, the Queen of Navarre, and sundry others; yet we make account that all these, laid together, cannot so satisfy you as some testimony and spark of our favour, with the application of the late service of your husband, and of your own demeanour there; wherefore, though you shall receive it some-

¹ The names of her sisters were,

1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh.
2. Anne, wife of Sir Nicholas, afterwards Lord Chancellor Bacon.
3. Katharine, Lady of Sir Henry Killigrew.
4. Margaret, married to Sir Ralph Rowlet, sheriff of Herts, &c.

² Arms; *Argent* 3 fusils in fesse *gules*.

what lately in time, yet we assure you the same proceedeth only A.D. 1575.
of the late knowledge of your return. And therefore we let you know, that the service of your husband was to us so acceptable, as, next yourself and your children, we have not the meanest loss of so able a servant in that calling. And yet, since it hath so pleased God to call him in the entry of this our service, we take it in the better part, seeing it hath appeared to be God's pleasure to call him away, so favourably to the service of him, especially in the constancy of his duty towards God, wherein, we hear say, he died very commendably. And for yourself, we cannot but let you know, that we hear out of France such singular good reports of your duty well accomplished towards your husband, both living and dead, with other your sober, wise, and discreet behaviour in that court and country, that we think it a part of great contentation to us and commendation of our country, that such a gentlewoman hath given so manifest a testimony of virtue in such hard times of adversity. And therefore, though we thought very well of you before, yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts; and whereinsoever we may conveniently do you pleasure, you may be thereof assured. And so we would have you to rest yourself in quietness, with a firm opinion of our especial favour towards you. Given under our signet, at our city of Oxford, the — of September, 1566, the eighth year of our reign.

Your loving friend,

ELIZABETH R.¹

No very early opportunity for manifesting this gracious disposition seems to have presented itself; but on the birth of her first daughter, by the second marriage into which she entered,² the queen readily consented, on Lord Russell's

¹ Ellis's Original Letters, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 229.

² Tidings of the event were thus communicated by

LORD RUSSELL TO LORD BURLEIGH.

God having delivered our poor lady of great fear and torment, I do both as joyfully and as speedily as I can, let your lordship know thereof; and though I could have wished, with all my heart, to have had a boy, yet the

.D. 1575. application, to stand godmother to the infant. It was named after her, Elizabeth; and we find among the Hargreave MSS. the following curious particulars of the baptismal ceremony, which took place on the 27th of October.

“The Lady Russell, by reason of the plague being in London, having obtained so much favour from Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster, as to have her lodgings within the late dissolved abbey, was there on the 22d of October delivered of a daughter. Whereupon the queen having promised to be godmother, and being then at Windsor, sent the Countess of Warwick as her deputy, attended by Mr. Wingfield, the queen’s gentleman usher, to direct all things in the same cathedral, which he did as follows:

“He caused a traverse of crimson taffeta to be set on the right side of the high table, near to the steps within the chancel, and therein placed a carpet, chair, and cushions of estate. Then a great basin was set in the middle, near to the high table, a yard high, upon a small frame for that purpose covered with white linen, and the basin set thereon with water, and flowers about the brim.

“In the chamber within the house where the Lady Russell lay, was set up a rich bed of estate for a countess. In the same chamber was also placed a rich pallet, covered with a rich counterpane. Also a rich cupboard, and a

danger that I stood in of losing both, doth make me rejoice in having a girl.

I cannot tell what surety I may make of the queen’s acceptance, if I should beseech her majesty to be godmother, which I think best not to leave untried. I mean shortly to wait upon your lordship at the court, at which time I will crave your lordship’s advice, and refer myself herein to your direction, and so I humbly take my leave. At Westminster College, the 22d of October (1575).

Your lordship’s loving brother-in-law and assured to command,

JOHN RUSSELL.

secret oratory, within or near the same chamber, for necessities appertaining to such estates. A.D. 1575.

“ In the second chamber was a cloth of estate for an earl, coming down to the pommel of the chair, or somewhat higher. Also a traverse, which was never to be drawn up until the purification be passed ; and in that chamber it was ordered, that (if the christening be not public) a font should be placed, and two ushers to attend for the straining of the water and keeping it warm. In the outer great chamber was ordained a cupboard for the ewery ; and instead of men officers, that there should be women to fetch the boardcloth at the ewery, and such other affairs during the time of her childbed, or keeping her chamber. All things being ready on Thursday, at ten o'clock, the witnesses and the rest being all assembled, they proceeded out of the dean's lodging through the cloister, into the church, in the manner following :

“ First, the gentlemen that accompanied the lords and ladies went on before, then knights in their places, barons and earls in their degrees ; then

The Earl of Leicester, godfather.

Then the child, in a mantle of crimson velvet, guarded with two wrought laces of gold, having also over the face a lawn, striped with bone lace of gold overthwart, and powdered with gold flowers and white wrought thereon, borne by the midwife, Mrs. Bradshaw.

Then the Countess of Sussex, godmother.

A gentleman Usher.

The Countess of Warwick, deputy for the Queen ; her train borne by

The Lady Burleigh,	}	and	{	The Lady Bacon,
sister to the Lady Russell				sister to the Lady Russell.

Other ladies and gentlewomen, many.

“ When they were entered and placed in the church, the dean began a brief collation, all which time the deputy

A.D. 1575. remained within the traverse, and the other ladies without. Now as soon as the dean had made an end, the Lady Bacon took the child, and brought it to the font, where the dean attended in his surplice. Then the Earl of Leicester approached near to the traverse, and there tarried until the deputy came forth; from whence they leisurely proceeded to the font, the deputy's train still borne, where she christened the child by the name of Elizabeth; which done, the deputy retired back into the traverse again, and the midwife took the child, and came down, and there dressed it. In the meantime, Mr. Philip Sidney came out of the chapel called St. Edward's shrine, having a towel on his left shoulder, and with him came Mr. Delves, bearing the basin and ewer, and took the say. Then the deputy came forth, her train borne, and they two kneeling, she washed,—then other gentlemen with two basins and ewers, came to the Countess of Sussex and the Earl of Leicester; and they having washed, immediately came from the aforesaid place of St. Edward's shrine, gentlemen with cups of hippocras and wafers; that done, they all departed out of the church, through the choir, in such order as before, the Lady Bacon carrying the child, and so the said ladies and godfather went into the Lady Russell's chamber. And here it is to be observed, that upon their coming again out of the chamber, the Lady Sussex took place before the Countess of Warwick, because the solemnity was finished.

“The company then proceeded to dinner; and when the first and second course were ended, voidance was made of all things on the table, salt and all. Then came in a stately and costly delicate banquet, at the upper table only, which ended and voided, and grace said by the Lord Russell's chaplain, the lords washed; and after rose and

returned again into the bedchamber, and presently departed A.D. 1575. thence.”¹

To the object of this splendid ceremony, Elizabeth in after years extended her protection, appointing her, as well as her younger sister Anne, one of her maids of honour. The desire of Lord Russell for a male heir was ultimately gratified by the birth of a son, named Francis; but his satisfaction at this incident was of short duration, as he died in 1580. His father survived him but a few years, dying at his house at Highgate in 1584.

A letter is extant, written apparently by Alphonso Ferrabosco, an Italian gentleman attendant on the English court, whose musical talents, exercised subsequently with great success in the masques of Ben Jonson, are more than once celebrated by this writer in his poems. It is addressed from Richmond, Feb. 17, 1575-6, to some gentleman of influence at the court of Germany; and requests that through his means the Lord Russell, having the queen's license to travel through Germany and Italy, by way of Milan, Naples, and the states of the church, may be introduced at court “to kiss the feet of his Cesarean majesty;” and by his courteous offices and the emperor's commendatory letters to the various officers of the provinces through which he passes, be freed from encountering the difficulties that might otherwise be thrown in his way by the inquisitors, on account of his religion; but how long he remained abroad is altogether uncertain. He was member for Bridport in 1572, but he appears in no other public transactions of his time. He

¹ “Presents given: by the queen's majesty a great standing cup; Countess of Sussex a standing cup; Earl of Leicester a great bowl. The queen's ordinary rewards are—to the midwife, three pounds; to the nurse, forty shillings. Note, that the above sent their presents privately into the bed-chamber.”—Hargreave MSS. No. 497, p. 64.

A.D. 1576. lies interred in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory by his widow, who has also exercised her pen on a Greek, a Latin, and poetical inscription, which record his virtues and her own great sorrow for his loss.¹

Of William, the fourth son of the earl, it will be sufficient for the present to observe, that after leaving Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was educated, with his brothers, “at the feet of that excellent divine, Dr. Humphreys,” he spent some years in his travels, through France, Germany, Italy, and Hungary; from which extensive circuit he is stated by one who intimately knew him, to have returned, not merely accomplished in languages and improved in his address and range of knowledge, but uninjured by the affectation of foreign fashions, and uncorrupted in his moral and religious principles.³ After making, with reputation, his first campaign in the wars of the Low Countries, in which he received the honour of knighthood, he married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Long,⁴ of Shengay in Cambridgeshire. Their marriage settlement is dated May 30, 1583.⁵

¹ A portrait of John, Lord Russell, occurs in the painting which has been engraved by Vertue, of the visit made by Queen Elizabeth to Hunsdon House. “Therein are depicted,” says the author of her “Progresses,” “Lord Clinton, Lord Russell, and Lord Sussex, as three knights of the garter, with their collars of the order, each of them having a riband around his neck, to which is attached an intaglio of the queen’s profile;” which additional ornament, he concludes, was designed to mark them out as persons particularly distinguished by her favour and regard. M. Hutchins observes, that this painting is now at the Lodge, Sherborne Castle.²

³ Walker’s Funeral Sermon.

⁴ Arms; *Sable*, a lion rampant between 8 cross-crosslets *argent*.

⁵ Abstract in the Bedford Office. Bizzari thus apostrophises him and his two elder brothers:

Vos quoque tam clari juvenes quos indole pulchrâ
Natura ornavit, quosque paterna domus;

² History of Dorsetshire, vol. ii. p. 390.

Elizabeth, the second daughter of the earl, was on the 7th of August, 1582, married at St. Stephen's church in Exeter, of which city she was a native, to William Bourchier,¹ Earl of Bath; the citizens testifying their interest in the event by the present of a basin and ewer of silver, richly gilt and decorated.² A large cavalcade was also in attendance to escort them from the altar; and the rest of the day was devoted to a round of entertainments and public diversions, which gave to that ancient and venerable city the gaiety and life of an Italian carnival.

Of the early life and character of the youngest daughter, Margaret, whose betrothment to Lord Clifford has been already noticed, a few particulars occur in the MS. memoirs of her daughter, the Countess of Pembroke, in a style of great simplicity and pure-heartedness:—

“The blessed and religious lady, Margaret Russell, was born about the 6th or 7th day of July, 1560, in her father's house at Exeter, which house was once a nunnery; and by reason that her mother Margaret, Countess of Bedford, died of the small-pox, in Woburn House, when she was but a year old, she, the then little lady, Margaret Russell, was by her father sent to her mother's sister, Mrs. Alice Elmers, of Lilford, in Northamptonshire, to be bred up there for some seven years; where also was bred up with them, in her childhood, for some time, this Lady Margaret's only

Ite alacres animis per iter virtutis apertum :

Hæc olim vobis nomina clara dabit.

Vos nulla hic melius poterunt exempla movere,

Inclita Rossellæ quàm monumenta domûs.

Hanc ergo ante oculos animis infigite vestris,

Si vos ullus honos posteritatis habet.— *Opuscula*, p. 129 b.

¹ Arms; *argent*, a cross engrailed *gules* between 4 water-bougets *sable*; on a label of three points *azure*, 9 fleurs-de-lys *or*, for difference.

² Jenkins's History of Exeter, p. 126.

A.D. 1576. child that lived any time, the Lady Anne Clifford, which caused that mother and daughter ever after to love a country life the better, they being both there seasoned with the grounds of goodness and religion; and from thence, this Lady Margaret Russell, when she was about eight years old, was brought home, to live in her father's house, under the government of her mother-in-law, till she came to be married.

“ She was married to George Clifford,¹ third Earl of Cumberland, the 24th of June, in 1577, in St. Mary Overy's church, in Southwark, she being then near seventeen years old, and he near nineteen; his sister, the Lady Frances Clifford, being married to Philip, Lord Wharton, at the same time and place: it being so great a marriage, as that Queen Elizabeth honoured it with her presence; and perhaps the rather, as remembering that thereabout, forty years before, that Earl George's father was married to his first wife, her cousin-german, the Lady Eleanor Brandon's grace, youngest daughter to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, the French queen. A little after her marriage she went with her husband down into the north, to Skipton Castle, in Craven, to live there with him, and his mother, and their friends, for the most part of eight years, except it were for awhile when she lived at Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, and at Wharton Hall, with her lord's sister; and for awhile when she went to meet her father at Buxton-well, in Derbyshire, for the recovery of her health.

“ This Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland, was endowed with many perfections of mind and body. She was naturally of a high spirit, though she tempered it well

¹ Arms;—Chequy or and azure, a fesse gules.

by grace ; having a very well-favoured face, with sweet and quick grey eyes, and of a comely personage. She was of a graceful behaviour, which she increased the more by her being civil and courteous to all ranks of people. She had a discerning spirit, both into the disposition of human creatures and natural causes, and into the affairs of the world. She had a great, sharp, natural wit, so as there were few worthy sciences but she had some insight into them ; for though she had no language but her own, yet were there few books of worth translated into English but she read them ; whereby that excellent mind of her's was much enriched, which even by nature was endowed with the seeds of the four moral virtues,—prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. She was a lover of the study and practice of alchemy (chemistry), by which she found out excellent medicines, that did much good to many. She delighted in distilling of waters and other chemical extractions, for she had some knowledge in most kind of minerals, herbs, flowers, and plants. And certainly the infusion which she had from above, of many excellent knowledges and virtues, both divine and human, did bridle and keep under that great spirit of her's, and caused her to have the sweet peace of the heavenly and quiet mind, in the midst of all her griefs and troubles, which were many.

“ She was dearly beloved by those of her friends and acquaintance that had excellent wits, and were worthy and good ; so as towards her latter end she would often say, that the kindness of her friends towards her had been one of the most comfortable parts of her life, and particularly of her husband's two sisters. She was also very happy in the dear love and affection of her eldest and excellent sister, Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick (who being almost thirteen

A.D. 1581. years older than herself, was a kind of a mother to her), as well as in that of their middle sister, Countess of Bath; for these three sisters in those times were the most remarkable ladies for their greatness and goodness of any three sisters in the kingdom."

The Earl of Bedford had thus the happiness of seeing his entire family settled with dignity and comfort. The last public service which he rendered, was as one of the commissioners in the treaty of marriage projected between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, in 1581. This prince, during the various fluctuations of the negotiation, arising from Elizabeth's wavering inclinations and misgivings, could not avoid, on one occasion, casting the ring from him with some disdain; and taxing, with impatient pride, the lightness of woman and the inconstancy of islanders. On his return to the Low Countries, a choice company of knights and barons were appointed, under the Earl of Leicester, to accompany him to Antwerp; and to this escort of honour Sir Francis Russell had the favour to be nominated,¹ with the chivalrous Sir Philip Sidney, Elizabeth herself accompanying the cavalcade as far as Canterbury. There were three permanent offices which the earl enjoyed until his death; he was warden of the stannaries, justice in eyre of the forests south of Trent, and lord lieutenant of Dorset, Devonshire, and Cornwall. His health and constitution now gradually declined, until the July of the year 1585, when his various maladies terminated in a gangrene. In the progress of this disorder, he bore without a murmur his sufferings, which were excessive; evincing a fortitude and patience that, from the expressions which occasionally escaped

¹ Camden, p. 242.

him, evidently sprang from a cheerful resignation to the will of Providence,—from a mind entirely pervaded by the hopes, the living faith, and consolations of the Christian. So strong was the support which he derived from these inspiring sources, that even whilst subjected to the torture of the lancet, he administered comfort to the friends who stood in tears around him; stating, that “though tried, like gold, in the furnace of affliction,” he desired to bear in his remembrance the declaration, “that every true son is chastened of the Father.” The operation to which he had submitted revived him for awhile, during which interval he received a visit from the queen, who manifested a sincere sympathy with the sufferings of so faithful and affectionate a subject. The hopes excited by this temporary relief were, however, soon extinguished by a severe relapse; but his peace was made with Heaven: his meditations were constant on the elevating truths and promises of Scripture, and his hands were often lifted up in prayer; so that, in the language of one who appears to have been engaged in his service,

“His chamber seemed a heavenly preaching place,
Himself, even then, the soundest teacher was.”¹

A correspondent testimony is borne by an eye-witness of his sufferings and faith. “I have been,” says Dr. Thomas Sparkes, “both an eye and an ear-witness, that in respect of sins he had infallible tokens of a very broken and contrite heart; yet, casting his eyes upon God’s mercies towards such in Christ, no man could be more comforted and raised up again. Notwithstanding he was as free from the common

¹ Whetstone: “Poem on the life, death, and divine virtues of Francis, Earl of Bedford,” which contains many interesting touches of his benevolence and virtue.

A.D. 1585. corruptions of the world (whereunto men of his place are greatly assaulted and provoked to fall), and as full of love and charity, and all the fruits thereof, as lightly amongst men any can be found; yet this I can testify of him, and so I think can all that knew him, that he was never the more puffed up with any conceit of his own righteousness; yea, though his course of life and dealing with all men was such, that he got this title commonly in the mouths of all—"the good Earl of Bedford;" yet still his cry was, that only in Jesus Christ and his merits were all his hope and trust concerning his salvation."¹ This testimony proves that he had long assiduously aimed at that substantial crown of Christian perseverance, before which the eminence of rank, the dignities of office, and all the high rewards of honourable ambition, lose their radiance, like stars that wane away before the light of morning. As his end drew nearer, he was blessed with a sense of merciful acceptance; under the influence of which he joyfully exclaimed, "Satan is chained! the seed of the woman hath broken the serpent's head! even for me!" And shortly before his dissolution, after joining in prayer with a minister of his household, he observed: "thus believe I in my heart to justification, and confess with my mouth unto salvation."² In this peaceful frame of mind he is stated like a taper to have worn away, and without a gasp or groan to have yielded up his spirit on the 28th of July, 1585, being spared thereby the pain of tidings that must soon have reached him, of the fatal outrage perpetrated on his son Sir Francis.

For Sir John Forster, having on the 27th of July, at Oswine-Middle, agreed for a truce-day with Sir Thomas

¹ Funeral sermon, 12mo. Oxford, 1594.

² Ib.

Carr, of Farnihurst, the Scottish warden, for the adjudication of some goods unjustly taken, sent certain of his gentlemen to him to Hexpeth-gate-head, to give and take assurance of security on oath, according to the ancient custom of the marches. The oath was passed on both sides, and proclamation made upon the 28th, that no one should harm another till the morning of the following day, in word, in deed, or countenance, on pain of death. Sir John accordingly proceeded to the meeting, but found, to his astonishment, when he had turned a hill which had intercepted his prospect of the place, that the Scots were advancing, not in the accustomed manner, as upon a peaceful armistice, but in array of battle, armed, with beat of drum, the defiance of the fife, and full display of military banners. This body was to the number of three thousand men, whilst the English gentlemen did not exceed three hundred; but as there was no remedy, except that of turning back, he resolved to stand to the assurances exchanged, and sat down with Farnihurst to the discharge of justice. Now it had, we find, been decided at Madame Montpensier's house in Paris, (which was the council chamber of the leaguers against England,) by the Spanish agent, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the rest, that to trouble Elizabeth by way of Scotland, was their best hope and surest remedy, in the present juncture of their common affairs, in which the council were apprised by Sir Edward Stafford, "they meant to spare nothing." A knowledge of this fact gives to what ensued all the air and guilt of premeditated treachery. The trial of complaints had no sooner well commenced than a tumult was suddenly raised: an Englishman was charged with theft, apparently on no good ground, and the Scots immediately discharged a shower of bullets, one of which wounded Sir Francis Russell, as he was unsheathing

A.D. 1585.

A.D. 1585. his sword, after exclaiming to a Scot who had called on him to surrender, "that will I never do!"¹ The English were put to flight, pursued for four miles on English ground, and had several of their number taken prisoners. The wound which Sir Francis had received proved fatal: he lingered till the following day, and then expired,—to the grief of all Northumberland, and the extreme indignation of the Queen of England. She sent instant letters and commissioners to Scotland to have the murderers delivered to her. James promised acquiescence, if the fact of murder could be proved. One of the Fenwicks accused Farnihurst of the crime to his face, but he met the charge by an absolute denial; and as Fenwick could adduce no Scotsman for a witness, which was necessary for the conviction of the offender, by the rule of border law, the traitor escaped. Yet, in some degree to satisfy the English queen, the Earl of Arran, a suspected party to the murder, was commanded to his house, and Farnihurst was committed to custody at Dundee; a poor compensation to her for the loss of such a knight. Of those who mourned the extinction of his life, as the spearmen bore his body home to Alnwick, his lady, Julian Forster, was happily not one; "her sweet deserts," to use the phrase of a contemporary poet who celebrates his fate, had already passed from earth; but the tears of her father and his own retainers were shed upon his bier; and the church of Alnwick hearses his remains.

Preparations were meanwhile made for the funeral of the Earl of Bedford, which by his last will he directed to be solemnised at Chenies, and the occasion to be improved by twenty sermons, to be preached within five months after

¹ Whetstone, as before.

his decease, “by godly, learned, and discreet ministers.” A.D. 1585. He bequeathed to Lord Burleigh his great George of lapis-lazuli, decorated with gold, diamonds, and rubies, and all his ancient manuscripts of Wycliffe’s works; and to University College, Oxford, twenty pounds per annum, towards the education of two poor students of divinity, to be nominated by his heirs for ever.¹ The funeral did not take place until the 14th of September: it was then conducted with great pomp;² and a long discourse was preached by Dr. Sparkes on the occasion, which was afterwards printed,³ and inscribed to Arthur, Baron Grey de Wilton.

Francis, Earl of Bedford, was godfather to Sir Francis Drake, the celebrated navigator, who was a native of Tavistock. Besides the earl’s bequest to University College, he founded a free-school at Woburn, the statutes of which he himself drew up. A handsome monument is erected to

¹ Dugdale; Baronage, vol. ii. ³ At Oxford, 1594, 12mo, in Mus. Brit.

² *Order of the Funeral.*

John Kyttridge, }
Robert Lerett, } Two yeomen conductors, with black staves.

The poor two and two.

Mr. Paul Wentworth, an esquire, to bear the standard.

Gentlemen, in cloaks, two and two.

Gentlemen in gowns, two and two.

Esquires, two and two.

Mr. Hugh Vaughan, }
Mr. Holdsworth, } Secretaries two.

Mr. Bright, }
Mr. Hocknell, } Chaplains two.

Dr. Sparkes (and with him }
Dr. Chaloner, } Preacher.

Mr. Harrington, }
Mr. Rowland Sherard, } Steward, treasurer, and comptroller.
Mr. Michael Hawtrie, }

Mr. Griffith Hampden, an esquire, to bear the great banner.

The defunct’s coat of arms, worn by a herald.

A.D. 1585. his memory in the chapel at Chenies, exhibiting the figures of the earl and his first countess in full proportion, in alabaster, coloured, lying supine, with shields of arms, and notices of all their family around the sides, and a suitable inscription in gilt Roman capitals.

The character of Francis, Earl of Bedford, is thus drawn by Mr. Lodge:—"He loved his country entirely, and devoted himself to it on the only just principles of public service,—loyalty to his prince, reverence to religion, and submission to the laws. He had talents capable of directing the most important state affairs; but those talents were in a manner governed by a noble simplicity of mind, so contrary to the spirit of party and political intrigue, that he always declined accepting the great offices which were repeatedly offered to him, choosing to serve his prince rather with his person than with his council, and preferring obedience, regu-

Helm and crest borne by a herald.

The shield borne by a herald.

The sword borne by a herald.

Mr. Christopher Harris. The coat of arms borne by a king-at-arms,
with a gentleman usher.

Sir Henry Neville,	} Assistants to the body.	{ Sir Dru Drury, Mr. Serjt. Puckering.
Sir William Fitzwilliams,		
Mr. Oliver St. John,	} Four gentlemen to bear the	{ Mr. Crauford, Mr. Hugh Atland.
Mr. Thos. Vincent,		

THE BODY, BORNE BY SIX YEOMEN.

The Earl of Cumberland chief mourner, having	
Mr. Randal Haighton, gentleman usher, before him.	
George Wanton, a gentleman, to bear the earl's train.	
The Earl of Kent,	The Lord Cheyney,
The Lord Grey,	The Lord Norris,
The Lord North,	Sir William Russell,
The Lord St. John,	Sir Henry Neville. ¹

¹ Ashmole MS.

lated by his own honesty, to that affectation of authority which A.D. 1585.
must occasionally submit to the interests and the caprice of
colleagues. The vast wealth which he inherited in his youth
from his father, seduced him neither into indolence, de-
bauchery, nor pride. His charity was as pure as his
patriotism, and as free from vanity as that from ambition.
He seemed to hold his weighty purse but as a trustee for the
unfortunate. To conclude this slight sketch, in the concise
but comprehensive words of Camden, ‘ he was a true fol-
lower of religion and virtue.’”¹

To this just tribute to his merits, it may be farther
observed, that, notwithstanding the enmity and jealous feuds
which subsisted between Lord Burleigh and the Earls of
Sussex and Leicester, Lord Bedford, like another Atticus, lived
with each upon terms of the most perfect intimacy. His digni-
fied moderation was the result of native equanimity of mind,
heightened by a patriotism pure, steady, disinterested, and
guided to the best ends by his religious principle, the parent
of unswerving rectitude, and of that entire consistency which
is the great charm of human character. The part which he
took in the affairs of Scotland is more than once reflected on
with asperity by Mr. Chalmers, but assuredly with great
injustice; and indeed the unmeasured, not to say the vulgar
obloquy, which this fervid partisan has heaped upon every
one who crossed the course, or traversed the projects of his
heroine, the Queen of Scots, is alone sufficient to render
those attacks of his innocuous, which therefore it would be
a waste of time to notice specifically. If it were not that
anger is unscrupulous and blind, it might have been expected

¹ Memoir in Chamberlain's Cartoons of Holbein.

A.D. 1585. that one who shewed both forbearance to the errors, and respect to the misfortunes of that queen, would meet with a correspondent candour in the interpretation of his conduct, even though the writer might have reason to suspect that he chose to regard the various transactions which affected her with the eye of a purely English statesman. The earl's upright dealing as a negotiator has only to be contemplated in all its parts and bearings to be freed from such unjust imputations; and even the policies of his mistress, cruel and unfeeling as they have often been pronounced, cannot be equitably judged of apart from the light thrown upon them by the secret practices of the Scottish court itself, and by the yet more ominous intrigues entered into by those agents of assassination and rebellion, who were let loose on her by Spain and by the house of Guise.

The passage quoted from Camden by Mr. Lodge occurs in his "Annals:" in his "Britannia" he speaks yet more highly of the Earl of Bedford, terming him "a person of that piety and *gentille* easiness of temper, that whatever I can possibly say in his commendation will fall infinitely short of his virtues."¹

The Countess of Bedford survived her husband many years. At the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots, she officiated as chief mourner, assisted by the Earls of Rutland and Lin-

¹ Of the three compositions which Bizzari has addressed to him in admiration of his virtues, the following is perhaps the best:—

Ad Franciscum Rossellum.

Gloria sponte suâ fugientem quærit, et illum
 Consequitur, quamvis iret ad Antipodès.
 Hanc licet ipse fugis, tua per vestigia oberrat,
 Et quocunque abeas, hæc comitatur iter.

coln, her train borne by the Lady St. John of Basing, assisted A.D. 1585.
 by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlain. She died upon
 the 12th of January, 1600, at the age of seventy-five, and
 was interred at Watford. Her monument is erected in a
 chapel of the church, with the effigies of a countess in her
 robes, edged with ermine, a coronet upon her head, a hart
 standing by her with a collar and chain about its neck, a
 cherry-tree between it and her feet, the portraiture of two
 gentlemen on each side of her kneeling on a cushion, and
 an inscription at the end of the monument, which states
 that she was “a woman of singular sincerity in religion; in
 civil conversation and in integrity of life unspotted; in
 hospitality bountiful and provident; in all her actions dis-
 creet and honourable; in great favour with her prince, and
 generally reputed one of the noblest matrons of England
 for her wisdom and judgment.”

There are two portraits extant of the second Earl of
 Bedford, both by Holbein; the one a cartoon in the king's
 collection, drawn in his boyhood, which has been engraved
 by Bartolozzi; the other at Woburn Abbey, taken later in
 life, with the collar of St. George around his neck; which
 portrait has been engraved by Houbraken. A modern
 painting, in the same collection, executed by A. Cooper,
 R.A., depicts also with great spirit the closing scene of Sir
 Francis Russell's life—the second of the line who perished
 in the service of his country.

Hanc fugis, hæc sequitur, fugias licet usque, sequetur,

Nec te unquam terra deseret, atque mare.

Hanc decoras, te illa; hanc quoniam tu semper amâsti,

Hæc te perpetuo, perpetuoque colet.

Felices animæ, quas virtus tollit ad astra,

Et quarum æterno nomine fama viget!

Opuscula, p. 93 b.

A.D. 1585. The Earl of Bedford was a great patron of letters: and various works were dedicated to him by the writers of his age.¹

¹ The following, in black letter, occur in the library at Woburn :

1. Cooper's Chronicle, 4to, imprinted at London, in Flete Strete; in the house late Thomas Berthelettes, 1560.

2. The Secrete of the reverende Maister Alexis of Piemount; translated out of French into Englyshe, by William Ward; 4to, imprinted at London, by Henrie Denham, for John Wyght, 1566.

3. The same, translated out of Italian into Englishe, by Richard Androse; imprinted at London, by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the sign of the Starre; 4to, 1569.

4. The Relikes of Rome, concernynge Church ware, &c., by Thomas Beacon; imprinted at London, by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martin's; 24mo, without date.

Arms of Dudley, Earl of Warwick; *Or* a lion rampant *azure*, tail slipt *vert*.

DUDLEY.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I. Page 24.—CARTA HUGONIS DE ROSEL.

Ego, HUGO DE ROSEL, trado cœnobio S. Stephani terram quam in Grainvillâ et in Groccio teneo de beneficio regis, eodem rege concedente, cum uxore meâ et filio meo Hugone, eâ conditione, ut in præsenti me recipiant abbas et monachi ad ordinem. Testes, Hugo filius meus, Rodulfus de Grainvillâ, Robertus de Ros, et alii plures... Et ego Robertus Bertrannus trado cœnobio B. Stephani de Cadomo, imminente morte, concedentibus uxore meâ et liberis, quidquid terræ in Britivillâ Orgulosâ habeo cum parte meâ ecclesiæ, &c. Testes, Durandus de Divâ, Willelmus filius Tetbaldi, &c. Ego Eudo, non immemor beneficii à B. Stephano in ægritudine meâ mihi collati, trado cœnobio totam partem quæ ad me pertinet de villâ cui Baltha nomen est. Testes Turgisius, Rogerius de Broei, &c.... Ego Ricardus filius Turstini, Vicecomes Abrincensis, trado cœnobio Sancti Stephani terram juris mei quam habeo in Ruschivillâ de feodio Turstini filii Ricardi, concedente simul et mecum donante ipso Turstino in præsentiâ præfati regis Willelmi; testes, Willelmus filius Osberni, Rogerius de Belomonte.—*From the Original in the Bur. de la Préfect. at Caen.*

APP. II. P. 31.—DONATIO RICARDI DE AECCLIA DE ROSEL.

Ricardus de Rosel dedit Sancto Stephano et monachis eius suam ecclâm quam habebat in Rosel, cum decimâ et septem acris terre que p̃tinent ad eandem ecclesiam, et domũ quam Rogeri⁹ presbit^r dedit et Ricardus concessit, tali pacto, ut abbas et monachi Sci. Stephani ipsam ecclesiã et presbiteriũ qui eidẽ ecclesie serviret sep^r in suo dominio habeant et talem presbiteriũ ibi mittant qui illi ecclesie assidũe serviat. Huius donationis testes sunt, ex parte Ricardi, Rogeri⁹ ei⁹dẽ ecclẽ presbiter, Hamelin⁹ de Carũ et duo

filii eius, Rannulphus et Godefridus, Ingulphus fili⁹ Robelini. Ex parte Sancti Stephani et monachor', Willelm⁹ clericus de Almanniâ, Alannus de Starvillâ, Guarinus de Divâ, Rodulfus de Ceusio, Haimo cocus, Walterius Iselent, et alii plures.—*Cartulary of St. Stephen's, penès M. l'Abbé de la Rue.* Carta xcvi. fol. 26 b.

APPENDIX III. Page 31.—CARTA GISLEBERTI ABBATIS.

HUGONI DE ROSEL dedit Gisleb⁹tus abbas in feudiū trā quā Hugo pater ej⁹dē Hugonis, p' concessionē Willelmi regis et Ranulfi vicecomitis et ipsius Hugonis, dedit S^co Stephano quando in eodē loco ipse Hugo monach⁹ effectus est, tali conditione, ut ipse Hugo inde faceret cū alio feodio qd. de eodē S^co Stephano tenet conveniens serviitiū. Ob hoc eciā, scilicet, quia abbas dedit ei terrā illā in feudiū, dedit idem Hugo S^co Stephano in elemosinā unā virgatā t^rre et duas partes decime de totā t^rrā suā de Rosel, et de Gruceio; p^sentibu⁹ et concedentib⁹ hoc Odone Baiocensi Ep^o et Helgoto archidiacono. Huic facto int^rfuit etiā Rogeri⁹ cleric⁹ de Rosel, qui int^rrogat⁹ ab abbate corā ep^o an aliq^d clamaret in illā decimā, respondit “Non.” Hugo tam⁹ ne aliquando ecclesia de hoc facto aliquā querimoniam faceret, dedit ipsi ecclē in elemosinā p' dep^catione epⁱ vii acras terre de suo pprio dominio. Convenit etiā Hugo qd. ipsā decimā faceret ad domos reddi decimatori Sci Stephani. Qd. si aliquis de eā calūniā faceret, ipse Hugo sēp benē adquietaret eā S^co. Ad hoc factū fuerunt cū ep^o Helgotus archidiacon⁹, Rogerius clericus de Rosel, Boselin⁹ cleric⁹ de Eureccio, Gausfrid⁹ Rotundel, Robtus de Subleio, et Ricard⁹ fr⁹ ei⁹, Willelm⁹ de S^co Q^untino, Hugo de Bosvillâ, Willelm⁹ Jobet, Tedald⁹ fr⁹ Adeboldi, Rogeri⁹ siniscalci⁹. Ex parte Sci Stephani, Gislebtus abbas, Hugo celerarius, Rodulfus monach⁹, Guarin⁹ de Divâ, Robtus de Grainvillâ, Rogeri⁹ fili⁹ Radulfi, Willelm⁹ fili⁹ Arturi, Hubtus fili⁹ Robti, Willelm⁹ de Cacenceio, Odo fili⁹ Rogeri Querci.—*Cartulary of St. Stephen's, as before.* Carta cxiii. fol. 32.

APPENDIX (I.*) IV. Page 45.

Ricardus de Rollos dat Scæ Trinitati Cadumi terrā quā HUGO DE ROSEL ab eo habet, tali pacto, qd. Hugo de Rosel uno quoq. anno modiū frum⁹ti æclliæ Cadum⁹si reddat. Et si n̄ ita reddi-

derit Convent? Cadum̃sis terrā in suā habebit potestate donec modiū frumenti reddat̃. Hui? rei testes s̃t Wll. Patricius et Radulfus de Rouvecestre, et Wll. de Baugeio; et ex parte Ricardi s̃t testes Osmont et Savari de Monte-agut et Alexander et Pagan? de Tenechebraio.—*Chartul. Stæ. Trinitatis, fol. 36 b, in Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.*

APPENDIX (II.*) V. Page 47.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, quod ego JORDANUS DE BARNEVILLA donavi et concessi in perpetuam elemosynam Deo et canonicis Beatæ Mariæ de Voto juxta Cæsarisburgum, Locum Tallie cum his quæ super in presenti paginâ continentur; imprimis, ecclesiam Sc^{ti} M^{ci} d'Esketot, et ecclesiam S^{ti} Petri de Rosello cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, cum nemore et terris eidem loco adjacentibus; scilicet, à rivo Ruyault usque Bien, ad boscum Allix; et à cruce desuper nemus Tallie usque ad supercilium montis ex alterâ parte; et quidquid habebam in vico de Barnevillâ, et juxta eundem vicum dimidiam acram terræ quam Constantin Dastin tenuit; et dedi quod est in feodo meo et apud molendinum de Croisello tres virgatas terræ, et apud Ravenovillam quinque quarterias frumenti annuatim, et quoddam pratum quod est desuper pontem Gosselin, et juxta molendinū Buis dimidiam acram terre, apud Novemburgum duas mensuras terre, et juxta Magnum-pratum tres virgatas terræ, sub ponte unam acram terræ cujus una virgata est pratum, et tres alias in propinquis novalibus ejusdem loci; in parochiâ d'Esketot mansuram Stephani Calvin, et mansuram Hugonis de Croix, mansuram Gaufridi de Maresco, mansuram Wilhelmi Rosti, et mansuram Wilhelmi de Senovillâ, et mansuram Wilhelmi Plantin, et totam terram quam habebam in landâ Falloise, et tres acras terræ quas Wil^{lmus} Guilbert et filius suus tenuerunt, unde redderent tres solidos, et totum locum quod tenuit Helin, quod est supra Platum-nemus, et terram illam quæ sita est juxta tres illas acras quam predictus Guill^{lmus} Guilbert et filius suus tenuit; et ductum Tinault, et terram mercatoris apud vicum, et decimam molendini de Platobosco, et unam acram terre de quo Hugo de la Croix duodecim denarios reddit; et quasdam terras apud Barnevillam quas tenet Robertus Paganus, scilicet, unam dimidiam acram sub domum Will^{mi} militis,

et dimidiam acram ante molendinum Buys, et apud Le Tot juxta maram virgatam dimidiam, et item sub domo militis unam virgatam eum duo perticis. Ut autem donationes predictæ ad victum et sustentationem prioris et canonicorum apud Tailliam Deo servientium rectè et inconcussè in perpetuum permaneant, presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine dignum duxi roberare. Testibus hys, Guillelmo capellano de Senoville, Ricardo de Bosco sacerdote, Guillelmo de Magnavilla, Nicolao Gollin, Rogero de Senoville, militibus.

“ Je ne trouve pas,” adds M. de Gerville, “ de date à l’original : voici une addition. ‘ Quoniam verò predictus religiosus predictam chartam secum deferre vel deferri propter viarum et locorum discrimina, nos ad petitiones ignorum presenti transcripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus, in testimonium rei visæ. Datum A^o Dⁿⁱ 1266 die jejunii ante festum Sⁱ Bartholomei Apost.’ Signée, et plus bas est écrit, ‘ Collationnée sur l’original escrit en parchemin exhibitée par religieux personne Guill. de la Tour, sous-prieur de La Taille, et curé de la Haye d’Esquetôt par devant (Thomas, abbé de Montbourg, et les) tabellions requis sur l’instance de noble S^r Antoine de la Luthumière, sire et baron de la Haye d’Esquetôt en 1639.’ *Copiée par moi (de Gerville), au prieuré de La Taille, le 24 d’Août, 1809.*”

APPENDIX VI. Page 50.

In addition to the transactions of this Robert du Rozel already cited, we learn that by his grant, sealed with green wax, bearing an impression of a stem of rosemary, and circumscribed SIGILLUM ROB^{ti} DE ROSELL’, he, for thirty-three marks of silver, made to Alan de Wilton a feoffment in fee, after duel in proof of right, of two oxgangs of land at Westcote in Yorkshire, agreeably to the deed subjoined. We have omitted also to state, that his daughter Eloisa instituted a lawsuit against the Knights Templars for her right in certain lands at Ranville, in La Manche, which was settled to her satisfaction, by a final agreement, in the year 1200-1.—*Cat. des Rolles Norm.* tom. i. p. 242. One of the Mauvoisin family was at the Conquest, and settled at Mauvoisin-Ridware in Staffordshire, where his descendants continued for ten generations, whose history is given with great fulness, from the ancient manorial deeds, by Shaw. (*Hist. of Staff.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 166.) The family derived its surname

from the formidable castle at Rosny, on the borders of the Gastoinois; for when a besieging army erected a tower near the place besieged, it was commonly called a *Mauvoisin*, as signifying that it was a *dangerous neighbour* to the enemy. “Cum cástellum (Bamburg) inexpugnabile advertit rex (Will. II.) castellum aliud ligneum construxit, quod *Malvoisin* appellavit.”—*Matth. Paris, Hist.* p. 286. Numerous other instances might also be cited.

CARTA ROBERTI DU ROZEL.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris et audituris ROBERTUS DE ROSEL salutem! Noveritis me dedisse, et reddidisse, et concessisse, et hâc cartâ meâ confirmâsse Alano de Wiltonâ et hæredibus suis, duas bovatas terræ cum pertinenciis suis in Westcotum, sine ullo retinemento; illas, videlicet, quas idem Alanus clamavit adversus me per Breve de Recto, et unde vadimonia duelli data fuerunt per Gaufridum de Arches defensorem, et Walterum, filium Roberti de Gillinge appellatorem, in comitatu Eborac', et unde finalis concordia facta fuit inter nos, per finem duelli in eodem comitatu,—illi et hæredibus suis, tenendas de me et hæredibus meis in feudo et hæreditate, liberas et quietas ab omni servitio et exactione eidem terræ pertinentibus; reddendo annuatim michi et hæredibus meis vel cui nos assignabimus, duodecim denarios et unam libram cymini, vel duos denarios, in die Pentecostes, ad abbatiam de Giseburne: pro donatione verò istâ et quietâ-clamatione, dedit michi idem Alanus triginta et tres marcas argenti. Et ego Robertus et hæredes mei warrantizabimus prædictas duas bovatas terræ sæpedito Alano et hæredibus suis imperpetuum contra omnes homines. His testibus, Rogero de Bavent, Vicecomite Eborac', et multis aliis.—*Madox. Form. Anglic.* p. 185.

APPENDIX VII. Page 64.—CARTA HUGONIS ROSEL.

HUGO ROSEL om̃ib' filiis Sancti Ecclie salt'm. Sciatis me concessisse fratribus de Rufordiâ totam terram quam habui in Elmetonâ, in pheudo et in hereditate, concessu D'ni mei Hug' de Burun et Rogeri filii sui, in bosco et in plano, in pratis et in aquis et pasturis, liberam et quietam ab om̃ib' terrenis serviciis, reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredib' meis 6 solid. excepto quod ipsi fratres x solid. tam dabunt p' illâ terrâ, ad festum Sti Johis. Bap^{tes}.

Hiis testib⁹ Robto p̄sbitro de Bibasthorpe, Hug' de Burin, Warino de Triginthâ, Widone de Elmetonâ, Rainaldo de Exinton.—*Register of Rufford Abbey*, fol. 27 b.

APPENDIX VIII. Page 64. CARTA CONFIRMATIONIS HENRICI II.

Concedo donum quod fecit Gislebertus abbas in feudum HUGONI DU ROSEL, de terrâ quam pater ejus dedit S. Stephano, quando in eodem loco monachus ipse effectus est; tali conditione, ut ipse Hugo inde faceret cum alio feudo, quod de eodem sancto TENET, conveniens servitium: et ob hoc, dedit idem Hugo S. Stephano, in eleemosynam, unam virgatam terræ, et duas partes decimæ, de totâ terrâ suâ de Rosel, et de Groceio. Convenit etiam idem Hugo, quòd ipsam decimam faceret ad domum reddi decimatoris S. Stephani, et eam acquietaret de omni calumpniâ, et de his supradictis feodis, scilicet de Grainvillâ et de Groceio, secundum horreum ecclesiæ.—*Neustria Pia*, p. 631.

APPENDIX IX. Page 68.—CARTA RADULFI ROSEL.

Omnibus filiis sancte matris Eccl'ie, RAD~US ROSEL, filius Hug. Rosel salt^m. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse, et hâc p̄senti cartâ meâ confirmâsse Deo et Beate Marie et monachis de Rufford, p̄ salute anime mee et meor' in puram et ppetuam elemosinam firmam terre de Halmett' quam tenuerunt de me sine aliquo retinemento, scilt. sex solidos quos mihi solebant reddere in die Sti. Johs. Bapt. Ego vero et heredes mei p̄dictis monachis hanc elemosinam contra omnes homines in ppetuū warrantizabimus et defendemus; et sciend' est quod p̄dicti monachi p̄ istâ terrâ nunquam dediderunt nec dabunt forense serviciū. Hiis test. Ph^o Marco, bu~ de Nottingham, Willo. de Menil, Will. de Corvier, Henr' fil⁹ Ernolfi, Gervasio Claypol, &c.—*Rufford Register*, p. 27 b.

APPENDIX X. Page 68.—CONVENTIO RADULFI ROSEL.

Hæc est finalis concordia facta in curiâ dⁿⁱ regis apud Doncaster, die Mercurii proximâ post festum S^æ Margarette, anno regni Regis J. quarto, coram d^{no} Joh^o Norwic' Ep^o, Hug. Bardolf, mag^{ro} Rogero Arundell, Will. fil. Ricⁱ Joh^o de Eestling, Hug. de Bobi Justic', et aliis fidelib⁹ dⁿⁱ regis ibidem tunc p̄sentib⁹, inter Petrum, priorem de Lenton petent' et Erñum, abb^{em} de Ruthford tenent' p. RAD.

ROSELL, quem idem E. abbas notavit ad warrantū in eadem cur. et qui se itum inde warrantū fecit eidem abb^l de xii bovatis terræ, cum p̃tin' in Elmeton unde pl̃itum fuit inter eos in p̃fatâ cur. scil' quod p̃dicti prior et conventus recogn. p̃dictas xii bovatas terræ cum p̃tinentiis esse mo. et hereditatem p̃dicti Radⁱ warranti et inde homag' suū in eadem cur. recip̃unt. Et sit quod p̃fati E. abbas et conventus tenebunt p̃dictas xii bovatas terræ cum p̃tin. à p̃dictis priore et conventu, reddendo inde annuatim decem solidos ad festum S^{ci} Martini, scil' sex sol. p̃dicto Petro prior~ et conventui, et iiii solid. eidem Rad. et heredibus suis p. omni servicio. Et p. hâc recogn. fin. et concordia p̃dicti E. abbas et conventus dederunt p̃dicto Petro priore et conventui xxxv marcas argenti. — *Register of Rufford Abbey*, p. 28 a.

APPENDIX XI. Page 71.—CARTA PHILIPPÆ DE ROSEL.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quod presens scriptum pervenerit PHILIPPA DE ROSEL in Domino salutem! Noverit universitas ṽra quod ego Philippa, filia Hugonis de Rosel, dedi et concessi in perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime mee et matris mee et pro animabus patris et fratris mei, et omnium antecessorum meorum, Deo et canonicis regularibus de Plessitio, coram Henr' Baiocen' episcopo, et assensu dñi Henr', illustris regis Anglie, ecclesias que sunt de meo feodo in episcopatu Baiocen', possidendas integrè et quietè, cum o'ib' decimis et pertinenciis suis. Scilicet, ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Atreio, cum omnibus decimis et terris et appendiciis ejusdem ecclesie; et ecclesiam Sancti Vigoris de Meseretis cum omnibus decimis, et terris, et appendiciis ejusdem ecclesie; et quinq' acras terre quas meus pater Hugo de Rosel dedit predictis canonicis apud Glatine; et decimam molendini ejusdem ville. Dedi etiam eisdem canonicis ecclesias de Rosel, scilicet, ecclesiam Sancti Petri et Sancti Martini, cum decimis et terris, et pratis et elemosinis ad easdem ecclesias pertinentibus; mansuram quoq. Rogeri clerici, cum virgulto et terrâ adjacente eidem ma~sure, et calūpniā quam super eam habebam dimisi et concessi prefatis canonicis in perpetuam elemosinam. Ut autem hoc ratum et inconcussum habeatur, scripto et sigilli mei attestatione confirmavi. — *Cartulary of Plessis*, vol. i. fol. 18.

APPENDIX XII. Page 72.—CARTA PHILIPPÆ DE ROSELLO.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit, PHELIPPA DE ROSEL salutem in Dño! Ad noticiam universitatis ṽre notum fieri volo, qd. ego, Phelippa, filia Hugonis de Rosel, marito carens et libera ab omni matrimonio, dedi et concessi in perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute ãie mee, patris mei, et matris mee, et fratris mei, et omnium antecessorum meorum, Deo et Sancto Stephano de Plessitio, et canonicis ejusdem loci, coram Henrico Bajoc. episcopo, et assensu Henrici, regis Anglie..... capellam Sancti Laurentii de Alnetis, cum terrā elemosine ejusdem capelle;et totam terrā quam Rogerus clericus de me tenebat apud Rosel: scilicet, novem acras terre, terram autem illam resignavit in manu Henrici Bajocen' episcopi, qui, me presente et assensum prebente, terram illam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, tam in blado quam in denariis et regardis, et aliis rebus, dictis canonicis, in perpetuam elemosinam quietē et liberē possidendam tradidit. Item eisdem canonicis dedi et concessi mansuram de Bretoneriā, que est inter domum Ricardi Berengier et marescum et domum fabri de Rosel; et duas percas terre que sunt in capite virgulti Philippi Normant, assensu ejusdem Philippi; item medietatem campi Villute cujus alteram partem monachi de Alneto possident, et apud Atreium totum tenementum Willermi, filii Rad̃, filii Durandi, et clausum quod est inter cimiterium et terram que fuit Putois. Concedo etiam eisdem canonicis donationem illam quam fecit eis Rog̃ Escoth, assensu et concessione fratrum suorum Willermi Rossel et Willi Escoth de campo de Cruce, qui est ante domum Rogeri Drogon, quem ante dederam jam dicto Rogero pro suo servitio, eundem verò Rog̃ memorati canoñ. fratrem in ecclesiā suā et in consortio suo Deo serviturum, cum eodem campo receperunt. Has omnes donationes et concessionem meas litterarum mearum et sigilli mei duxi munimine confirmandas.—*Cartulary of Plessis*, fol. 19.

APPENDIX XIII. Page 76.

CARTA ROBERTI PATRICII ET PHILIPPÆ DE ROSEL.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, ROBERTUS PATRICIUS et uxor ejus PHILIPPA salutem! Noverit universitas vestra quod nos dedimus et concessimus in

puram, et liberam, et perpetuam elemosinam, terram nostram de Gernereio; illam, videlicet, quæ fuit Hugonis de Rosello, cujus corpus requiescat in cemeterio Montis, Deo et S^{co} Archangelo Michaeli, et eidem archangelo famulantibus nominatis, pro pre-nominati Hugonis animæ salute et antecessorum suorum, et pro nostrâ nostrarumque salute. Facta est autem donatio ista et concessio super altare S. Michaelis, anno ab incarnatione Domini m.c.lxxvi. Ut autem donacio ista et concessio rata maneat et stabilis, dederunt Robertus, abbas et conventus Montis predicto Rob. Patricio et uxori ejus Philippæ in caritate decem libri Andegavenses. Testibus Radulpho Patricio, Guill^o de S^{co} Bricio, Rad^o Russello, Mattheo clerico, Mattheo Chamblenco, Guill. Bereng^o, et militibus aliis, apud Montem.—*From the Original at St. Loo.*

APPENDIX XIV. Page 77.

CARTA ROBERTI PATRICII ET PHILIPPÆ DE ROSEL.

In nomine summe et individue Trinitatis innotescat cunctis Xtianis tam presentibus quam futuris, qd. ego ROBERTUS PATRIC et PHILIPPA uxor mea concessimus et hâc cartâ confirmavim⁹, pro salute animarum n^orarum Deo et Abbacie See Trinitatis de Savigneio, in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam, donationem illam quam Rualdus filius Roberti Rualdi de feodo n^oro eidem eccleie secum dedit, videlicet, dñium illud qd appellat^r dñium Marie de Boceleii, et dñium illud qd appellatur dñium Belissent, et quartâ partem nundinarum de intra montes. Illud autē qd n^ori iuris erat in his nundinis; scilicet, unum ibi meū prandiū et unū anulum qui debebat^r annis singlis uxori mee pdicte abbie, donando in perpetuum remittim⁹ et ab o^oi servitio quietū concedim⁹, preter accipitrem sorū qui nobis debetur de t^ocio anno in t^ociū. Volum⁹ igitur ut ipsa abbatia has oñes elemosinas bene habeat et in pace possideat cū om^oimodis earundē p^ontinentiis sicut cirographū qd factum est inter monachos Savigneii et Herbertū Rualdū attestatur. In testimonium autem hujus n^ore concessionis, ip^oi monachi deder^ot m^ol de caritate suâ decem libras Andegavensiū et uxori mee preciū duorū aureorū. Testib⁹ his: Guillo de Longereie et Petro de Fornesio monachis, Radulpho Pat^o et Maltilde mat^o ipi⁹, Thomâ clerico, Robto filio Radulfi de Thaum, Gaufrido filio Durandi, Philippo Farwel, Robbon^o de Genet, Mauricio Tronel de Alneto, Galtero Viele, Ricardo

Anglico, Hugone Clemente, Rogerio de Estcote, Hugone de Parvo-
p^{to}.—*Savigny Cartulary; Carta xlii. penès M. de Gerville.*

APPENDIX XV. Page 78.—CARTA PHILIPPÆ DE ROSEL.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego PHILIPPA, filia HUGONIS DE ROSELLO, dedi Deo et ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Ardenâ et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, offerendo p. unum librum super altare Beatæ Mariæ, circumstante conventu ecclesiæ et aliis pluribus, pro salute animæ meæ et animarum patris et matris meæ et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam, solutam et quietam ab omni exactione, x acras terræ de proprio dominio meo ad Groceium in iv campis,—campum qui vocatur Pratum, et campum Wigo, et campum Fullonis, et ex aliâ parte viæ dimidiam acram. Pro hâc autem elemosinâ canonici receperunt me et antecessores meos in orationibus et beneficiis suis et ordinis sui, et ad mortem meam liberam sepulturam concesserunt mihi, quam apud illos elegi. Preterea de rebus ecclesiæ suæ adquietaverunt me at scacarium regis de xxx libris Andegavensibus quas debebam regi, et mihimet ipsi dederant e sol. Andegav. Ea propter quod in multiplice hominum genere multiplex viget genus fallatiæ, ne hoc oblivione deleteretur, et ne aliquis super hoc aliquam injuriam predictis canonicis agere possit, sed firmum et illibatum futuris temporibus conserve~tur, presenti cartâ sigilli mei impressione munita eis confirmare curavi. Actum est autem hoc publicè in aulâ regis, in castello Cadomi, coram iudicibus regis ad scacarium sedentibus, anno ab incarnatione Domini m.c.lxxvi. Super hoc autem testes sunt, Dominus Ricardus, Wint. episc. qui tunc temporis erat capitalis justicia. Gisleb. Pipart, Ric^{us} Giphart, Simon de Tornebu, Gaufridus monachus, Rannulfus de Grantval, Simon de Scuris, Robertus Belet, Will. de Caliz, Rogerus de Scuris, Willermus Tanetin, et alii plures.—*From the Original Deed at Caen.*

APPENDIX XVI. Page 78.—CARTA RADULPHI DE HAMARS.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit, RAD. DE HAMARS salutem! Sciatis q. ego Rad. de Hamars coram Henrico Baiocen. Episcopo, et Will. fil Radfi, et coram baronibus sedentibus ad scacarium, concessi donationem quam Phelippa uxor mea fecit Nicholao priori et canonicis regularibus de Plaicitio ante-

quam eam ducẽm in uxorem, et ut donatio illa firma perseveret priori et canonicis in posterum tam in ecclesiis quam in terris et decimis propriis nominibus duxi exprimenda. Videlicet, ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Rosel, et ecclesiam Sancti Martini de Rosel, cum terris et decanis et appendiciis earumdem ecclesiarum, et novem acras terre in eadem villâ que sunt Rogi clerci, et ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Atreio cum terris et decimis et appendiciis ejusdem ecclesie, et ecclesiam Sancti Vigoris de Maiseretis, cum terris et decimis et appendiciis ejusdem ecclesie. Sicut igitur Philippa uxor mea hec omnia eis dedit in elemosinam perpetuam et carta sua eis confirmavit, ita et ego Rad. hâc meâ cartâ ea omnia eis concedo et confirmo in elemosinam perpetuam, sicut in cartâ reg' et uxoris mee continent'.—*Plessis Cartulary*, vol. i. fol. 21.

APPENDIX XVII. Page 79.—CARTA PHILIPPÆ DE ROSEL.

Sciant omnes, tam presentes quam futuri ad quos presens carta pervenerit, quod ego, PHILIPPA DE ROSEL, pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum, dedi et concessi, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et ecclesie Sancti Stephani de Plesseio et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo servantibus, cum Johanne Bove clerico, quem pro Dei amore et petiẽ meâ in suum consortium in canonicum receperunt, quidquid habebam apud Mesnil-Tehart, in hominibus, in pratis, in omnibus redditibus ad me pertinentibus, in parochiâ Sancti Audoeni del Recule, liberè et quietè ab omni servicio et exactione seculari; et quia hoc ratum et inconvulsus in posterum perseveret, carte mee attestatione et sigilli munimine confirmavi. Testibus hiis, Waltero de Capellâ tunc decano, Willermo Bove milite, Angerranno Pisce milite, Waltero de Sillegnie milite, Willermo Desert, Philippo de Costentin, Logete, et pluribus aliis.—*Plessis Cartulary*, vol. ii. fol. 659.

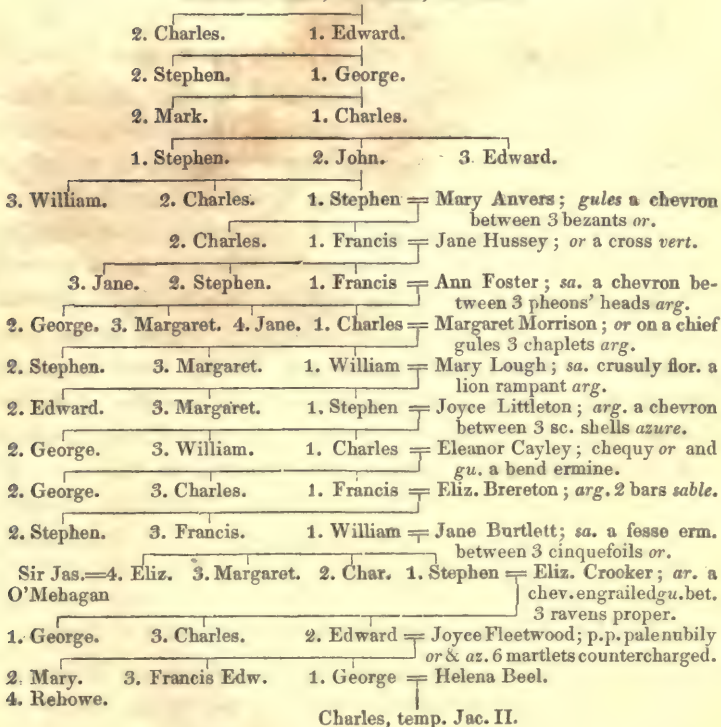
APPENDIX XVIII. Page 86.—CARTA ROBERTI DE ROSEL.

Sciant presenti et futuri quod ego ROBERTUS DE RUSSELL, assensu et voluntate domini mei Willielmi de Moun, comitis de Somerset, dedi et concessi, et hâc presenti cartâ meâ confirmavi, pro salute animæ meæ, et pro animâ Hugonis, patris mei, et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, in perpetuam elemosinam, totam terram meam quam Johannes le Faber tenuit de me in

Marisco, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Caniton, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus; dedi et prefato ecclesiæ et predictis fratribus, cum consensu Roberti, filii mei, totam terram meam quam Nicholaus tenuit in Merfield, habendam et tenendam predictis fratribus et successoribus eorum de me et heredibus meis, liberè, quietè, et integrè in perpetuum; et ego predictus Robertus et heredes mei warrantizabimus et defendemus predictas terras predictis fratribus et successoribus eorum, contra omnes gentes. Testibus hiis, &c.—*Transcribed from the Original with Mr. Robert Treswell by William Le Neve, Esq. York Herald.*

APPENDIX XIX. Page 97.

WILLIAM DE RUSSELL,
Baron of Lecale, in Ireland, A.D. 1200.



APPENDIX XX. Page 99.—CARTA ALANI DE ROSEL.

Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus q̄ futuris presentes litteras inspecturis, q̄ ego ALANUS DE ROSEL, pro salute anime mee et

omnium antecessorum meorum, concessi et confirmavi Deo et ecclesie Sancti Stephani de Plesseicio Grimoudi, priori et canonicis ibidem Deo servantibus, donum et elemosinam quam Radulfus de Brai cl̃cus dedit dictis religiosis; videlicet, septem sextaria frumenti ad mensuram de Rosel, et unum caponē cum hommagio Thome de Brai super unum masuram et super totum tenementum de feodo meo, quod dictus Thomas de Brai tenebat in feodr de dicto Radulpho de Brai clerico apud Rosel, sicuti jacent in longum et in latum; que masura sita est inter masuram Ricarda fabri, ex unā parte et masuram dicti Thome de Brai, ex alterā. Et volui et concessi quod dicti prior et canonici faciant de cetero suam justiciam super dictam masuram, et super totum aliud tenementum pro dictis septem sextar̃ frumenti ad dictam mensuram, et pro dicto capone, et pro hommag̃ tantummodo, nisi eisdem religiosis dictum solum fuit annis singulis in mense Septembris, et nisi dictus capo fuerit solum dictis religiosis, ad natale Dñi annuatim. Et sciendum quod si ita evenerit quod dictus Thomas de Brai vel ejus heredes dictam masuram cum alio tenemento dimiserint, quam masuram et quod tenementum tenuit predictis Radulphus de Bray clericus, predicti prior et canonici dictam masuram et dictum tenementum de nobis tenebunt, et facient redditus et legitimas actiones sicuti Thomas de Brai vel ejus heredes facere tenebantur. Et ut hoc firmum et stabile permaneat in posterum, ego Alanus de Rosel presentes litteras sigilli mei munimine roboravi. Actum anno gr̃e m°.cc°.l°. tercio, meñse Januar'.—*Plessis Cartulary*, vol. iii. Carta 1269.

APPENDIX XXI. page 100, and XXII. page 106.—PATENTIA
PRO JOHANNE, FILIO ODONIS RUSSELL.

JOHES FIL. ODON. RUSSELL ht. litt̃as dñi Reg. patentes de p̃sentacoē ad eccl̃iam de Pulehā q̃ vacat. et ad donacoēm dñi Reg. spectat, rōe abbĩe de Cireñ. vacantis, et ī manu dñi Reg. existentis. Et dirigunt̃ litt̃e offĩe epat̃. Sarr. ut illū ad d̃cam eccl̃iam admittant, si eccl̃ia illa nō valet p. annum plusquam v. marc̃. T. W. Briwer, apd Liñ. x. die Jañ. anno xiiij.—*Ex Rot. Pat. 14. Joh. m. 2*

APPENDIX XXIII. Page 396.

The author owes the discovery of this interesting fact to the kindness of Thomas Thorpe, the bookseller, who favoured him with the loan of a MS. common-place book once belonging to Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, but now in his possession. Into this volume the paragraph from Bale is extracted, with this comment in the Earl's handwriting — "My good great-grandfather, the Earle of Bedford."

On turning over the old Dictionary by Collier, I observe that he notices these treatises, but ascribes them to John Russell, bishop of Lincoln *in the reign of Richard the Second*. This is obviously a gross mistake, as Bale distinctly points to the first Earl of Bedford, when he says, that the author, besides being of an illustrious family, was reported to have flourished in 1530; a period applicable only to the lifetime of John, first Earl of Bedford, and exactly synchronising with the time when the principles that led to the Reformation first came into play, which would be likely enough to lead to the composition of such a tract as that upon the Civil and the Papal authority.

APPENDIX XXIV.

The extreme gratification which I derived, during my Norman tour, from the objects of antiquarian interest which at every step I met with, the hospitable attentions I received wherever I went, and the beauty of the scenery I traversed, led me, as I departed from Caen to Rouen, and skirted, on foot, along the *lower road* from this city to Mantes, the picturesque windings of the Seine, to breathe out my regrets in the following "Farewell," a few copies of which I had printed at Paris for distribution amongst those whom I was leaving. As every thing which revives our associations with a country so intimately connected with our early baronage and history, may be welcome to a large class of readers, and as the verses are in some respects connected with the subject of the present work, my partiality to that interesting province and its people tempts me to reprint them here. They embrace in their scope the chief places which I visited in Lower Normandy.

FAREWELL TO NORMANDY.

Ah ! si jamais un cœur fidèle
 Cessait de battre à mon côté,
 Mon âme vide voudrait-elle
 Commencer une ère nouvelle
 Dans un monde désenchanté! — M. DISIGNY.

1.

YET once again, my lyre, from thee
 A lay of sadness I demand ;
 Speak ! 'tis delightful Normandy
 Requires thy voice, inspires my hand.
 There many a thrilling scene I've passed,
 Crag, castle, stream, and forest-dell,—
 Now my charmed eyes have looked their last,
 And thou must bid her shores farewell ;
 Fond Memory's wine-cup pass we round,
 Although the guest's no longer gay ;
 Farewell Ardenne's¹ monastic ground !
 Adieu to ruin'd Fontenay !²

2.

By pleasant Buli's³ oak-crown'd height,
 Mild may the river warble still ;
 And yet the wild-bee wing its flight
 Each morn to Hamars'⁴ thymy hill ;
 Sweet, sweet on Clinchamp⁵ fall the dew,
 And many a prayer, La Lande-Patry,
 Be offered up to heaven anew
 Around thy centenarian tree !⁶

¹ The abbey of Ardenne, about half a league from Caen.

² The priory of Fontenay-le-Marmion, near the d'Orne ; it was richly endowed by the Tessons, and the Marmions, their descendants. A copy of its chartulary is preserved amongst the MSS. de Boze, in the Royal Library at Paris.

³ The rustic mill of Buli, which might have served Ruysdael for a picture.

⁴ A hamlet to the west of Harcourt, where Robert de Hamars, the second husband of Philippa de Rosel, in the reign of Henry the Second, had his castle.

⁵ Anciently the seat of Hugh de Clinchamp, the third husband of this lady : his family is as old as the days of Charlemagne ; the last heiress of the house is married to M. le Chaudé d'Anisy, of Caen, the translator of Ducarel, and of Ellis's Letters on English History.

⁶ In the cemetery of La Lande-Patry, near Flers, is a magnificent old yew-tree,

No more on Plessis'¹ fatal plain
 May buckler flash or war-horn bray;
 Farewell Pont d'Ouilly's rich domain!
 Adieu the pomp of Pommeraye!

3.

The kindest heart, the noblest head,
 Has fashioned there a mountain-home,
 And bade the bowers more greenly spread,
 The waters more divinely roam;
 Where warred the Frank round Château-Ganne,²
 His smile endeared the storied scene; —

capable of holding in its hollow trunk from ten to fifteen persons, yet covered still with the most florid verdure. Of Robert Patry, the possessor of the hamlet in the reign of Henry the Second, several charters are given in this work.

¹ The heath near the priory of Plessis-Grimoult is said by tradition to have been the scene of a conflict between the forces of Henry the First and his brother Robert, duke of Normandy.

² Near La Pommeraye; a castle built originally on an almost inaccessible crag, surrounded by deep moats and walls covered with sod, the whole measuring thirty feet in thickness. The tradition is, that it was the abode of Ganne, or Gannelon, a powerful baron, the receiver of the royal rents under Charlemagne. Entering into a treasonable correspondence with the sons of the emperor, he was adjudged a traitor, and his other castles were razed to the ground. Lifting the banner of insurrection, he retired at length from the open plains into this castle, the strength of which, for a long time, mocked all the efforts of the besieging army; and having no less craft than courage, he by many stratagems succeeded in foiling the chieftain who assailed him. But he had a daughter, who became enamoured of this baron during the siege: by means of slings and arrows she maintained a correspondence with him; and in the moment when he was about raising the siege, deceived by Gannelon, who had sent into his camp a bull's head filled with corn, to denote the plenty of his provisions, she shot off a billet, which apprised him that it was the last her father had. This message induced him to persist till Gannelon capitulated. It can scarcely be believed that the daughter had not stipulated for her father's life; but the tradition goes, that he was quartered, and exposed on the gates of Mortain, Caen, Alençon, and Falaise. It is still a common proverb in these parts, "*He has all the craft of Ganne.*" The old Norman words *gane*, *ganelet*, *ganellon*, &c. are farther explained by Roquefort to signify a traitor; according to the *Roman de Girars de Vienne*, quoted by him, Gannelon was the traitor who, betraying for gold the Frank army to Marsille, the Saracen king, was the cause of the defeat at Roncesvalles. I confess that before I saw the spot, I was wholly incredulous as to the antiquity assigned the castle; but when I descended into the fosse, circled the moat, considered well the terraced ramparts, their durability, their thickness, and the Roman or zig-zag architecture of

No more with thee those towers to scan,
 Adieu ! beloved St. Honorine !¹
 Rest happy in thy cell, that yields
 More peace than regal halls display !
 Farewell Val-Pichard's verdant fields !
 Adieu the hum of throng'd Guibray !²

4.

Reclining on the rocks, Falaise,
 That front thy still majestic towers,
 Ah me ! what dreams of other days
 Shed glory on the passing hours !
 The window'd keep, the yawning breach,
 Moss-mantled vault, and chiming bell,
 Creneille, crag, moat, and dungeon, each
 Had some old feudal tale to tell :
 Whilst in each form that stood beside
 Thy fountains dancing into day,
 So quaintly coif'd, methought I spied
 Thy peasant-princess of Verprey.³

the walls, I could no longer doubt that I was gazing on a relic of the age of Charlemagne.

¹ M. de St. Honorine, the gentleman who was my *cicerone* to this ruin, had been proscribed during the French revolution ; upon which he went into Germany, and, as aide-de-camp to the Duc de Harcourt, fought under the Prince de Condé. He assured me, that before his emigration he had himself descended into the castle well, which had large vaulted conduits, communicating with the d'Orne, into one of which he entered, but was deterred by the drip of water from proceeding far. He found, however, in the cavity, bucklers, spears, long swords, like those used in the time of Charlemagne, and an Etruscan vase for drawing the water, in perfect preservation.

² Near Falaise : it is celebrated for its August fair, the largest, except one, in France ; it lasts an entire fortnight.

³ Arletta, the daughter of Herbert and Dodo of Verprès, the celebrated mother of William the Conqueror. Notwithstanding her humble parentage, she had much of the spirit of a princess, if the anecdotes which Benoit de St. Maur, and other chroniclers, relate of her be true. The castle of Falaise is a most magnificent ruin ; within its grassy fosse I saw lying a relic of great curiosity to an Englishman, — one of the rounded balls of granite, three or four feet in diameter, which the military engines of our Henry the Fifth shot against the castle when he laid siege to it in 1417-18. They are spoken of by annalists as having been wrought at Caen.

5.

It was a pride — I ask not why —
 To stand where stood her potent son,
 And think that Time himself must die,
 Ere three such realms again be won ;
 But let that pass — I sigh to quit
 The soil that bore the wondrous man ;
 For still before my memory flit
 The forms of cheerful Langevin,¹
 And those whose kindnesses no song
 From lips like mine can e'er repay ;
 Farewell, accomplish'd Galleron !²
 Adieu the halls of mild Fresnay !³

6.

Away ! away ! in Albion's skies
 I ne'er shall think without a tear,
 Fresh gushing to my grateful eyes,
 On thee, thrice charming Val-de-Vire.
 Thy ruin'd castle, old and hoar,
 Thy terraced hills, thy gardens green,
 Thy stream, that, murmuring evermore,
 Seems loth to leave the' enchanted scene ;
 And, dearer far than tower or tree,
 The friends that charmed my heart away ;—
 Farewell, fraternal Disigny !⁴
 Adieu to laurell'd Chênédollé !⁵

¹ The Abbé Langevin, author of the *Recherches Historiques sur Falaise*, who was so obliging as to become my guide over the castle of Falaise, as he had been Dr. Dibdin's. The latter, in his "Picturesque Tour in France and Germany," vol. ii. pp. 40-4, has given his history and portrait.

² M. de Galleron is the author of the *Histoire Statistique de l'Arrondissement de Falaise*. I was much indebted to him for his great courtesies, and particularly for his introduction to the poet Chênédollé. It is fortunate that the rhyme allows me also to use at pleasure the distinguished names of M. de Brebisson, the botanist, and M. L'Abbèy, the amiable mayor of Falaise.

³ M. le Comte de la Fresnaye.

⁴ President of the Civil Tribunal at Vire, the author of several admirable MS. poems, and translations of the songs of Moore and Byron, in my possession.

⁵ M. de Chênédollé, one of the most eminent living poets of France, author

7.

Long to the Muse by Dirce's spring
 Be your melodious vows preferred ;
 Long live to touch as sweet a string
 As Norman fingers e'er have stirred !
 How fast the hours, Le Normand,¹ flew
 In talking o'er each ghostly tale,
 Which once perchance delighted too
 The Hafiz of thy native vale !
 Whilst Basselin's cittern charms the sad,
 Whilst still Chênédollé wears the bay,
 Vire still shall be my Rocnabad,
 Saint Martin's bowers my Mosellay !²

8.

One night within thy guarded walls,
 O Mont-Saint-Michel ! now is more
 To me, than in Arabian halls
 Whole heaps of legendary lore.
 No mail-clad knight from Palestine,
 No sandal'd monk from fabled lands,
 With bosom more devout than mine
 E'er cross'd thy blue and channell'd sands ;
 Chiefs, kings, and cowed hierarchies
 Of yore, seem'd marshalling my way,
 As, barefoot³ too, in pilgrim guise,
 I paused before thy turrets gray.

of the *Génie de l'Homme*, and several other poems, which are most justly admired and valued by his countrymen. He has been for some years engaged on an epic poem, entitled "Titus, or the Fall of Jerusalem."

¹ M. Le Normand, a young advocate of Vire, who supplied me with many superstitions of the country, and was my guide to the site of Olivier Basselin's house, the Hafiz or Anacreon of Vire, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and of whose *Vaudevires* I fortunately possess, through the kindness of M. Disigny, one of those excessively rare large paper copies, "stitched in blue spotted paper," of which Dr. Dibdin speaks with such enthusiasm. Vide *Picturesque Tour*, vol. i. p. 433.

² The names of Rocnabad and Mosellay, the one a stream, and the other a grove of great beauty, are familiar to the readers of Persian poetry.

³ As the famous Abbey of Mt. St. Michel, an object of singular interest and

9.

There stood'st thou, Nature's hermit-king,
 The worship of a world, that deem'd
 It glory at thy feet to fling
 What richest flashed, or brightest gleam'd !
 The towers thy guards ; thy throne of fame
 The pyramid of rocks that soar
 To heaven ; and on thy brows the same
 Rich Gothic mitre as of yore ;
 But of the millions that obeyed
 Thy awful crosier, where are they ?—
 Enough ! I mean not to upbraid
 The nations with thine ancient sway.

10.

Still let the village girls repair
 To hang with flowers the' Archangel's shrine,
 And home in bright remembrance bear
 Thy shells, unblamed by lyre of mine :
 For in thy bosom rest in peace
 Old Hugh de Rosel's honoured bones,
 And many a mass for him and his
 Have murmur'd o'er thy chancel-stones :¹

novelty, is surrounded by the tide twice a-day, the sands, or rather the blue marle of the bay, which is grooved into little channels by the working of the waters, can only be comfortably passed barefoot, owing to the water which these channels retain. In 1096-7, Robert, duke of Normandy, returning from the Holy Land, visited the abbey with his bride Sybil ; St. Louis, on his return from the unfortunate expedition to Damietta ; and pilgrimages to the shrine of the Archangel are still annually made by the peasantry from great distances. But ten minutes after we had gained the interior of the ramparts, the sands over which we had passed were covered by the sea to the depth of twenty feet. This rapid rise of the tide is the cause of frequent accidents. A bell, sounded from the monastery, warns the passenger of its first seen wave ; but wo to him who is then midway from the mainland ! I saw upon the sands the remains of a horse which had been drowned, a few days before my arrival, within forty yards of the rock : the rider was happily saved in the boat of the garrison. Hence it was not without good cause that the old chroniclers termed it *Mons Sti. Michaelis, in periculo maris*.

¹ Hugh, the son of that Hugh de Rosel who accompanied the Conqueror into England, was interred in the abbey of Mont St. Michel ; see p. 64 of this volume.

And I myself (let greybeards smile)
 The like memorials bear away,—
 Farewell, farewell time-hallowed pile!
 Adieu, thou wild blue Norman bay!

11.

On Granville's waves at noon of night
 How gaily did the moonbeams glance!
 How sweetly smiled the morning light
 On thy cathedral-spires, Coutances!
 Safe be the antiquarian scrolls
 That fill thy storied tower,¹ Saint-Loo!
 The wave in Cæsar's port² that rolls!
 The breeze that blows on high Pieux!
 And, heard at evening's twilight meal,
 The maid of Rozel's pastoral lay!³
 Farewell the rocks of Flamanville!
 Adieu the woods of Beauquesnay!

¹ One of the two towers or turrets in which the abbey charters of La Manche are deposited, built in the sixteenth century by the Maréchal de Matignon, who, in the wars of the League, besieged and took St. Loo, which was then one of the strongest towns in the Bocage.

² Cherbourg—in the old charters Cæsar's-burgum.

³ On inquiring of our hostess at Les Pieux, after visiting Le Rozel, if there were no traditional songs of the neighbourhood, she said that she knew one which the maidens of Le Rozel were accustomed to sing at milking time, "when they think their lovers are on the other side of the hedge." Accordingly she "sang, whilst we supped, her chansonette!" It commenced—

"L'autre jour, en me promenant
 Le long d'un joli bois charmant,
 J'ai rencontré une jeune pastorelle,
 Qui chantait une chanson nouvelle."

As I rode next day to Briquebec, I amused myself with the following version of it:—

SONG OF THE MAIDENS OF LE ROZEL.

Walking, one eve, in vacant mood,
 Beside a green and pleasant wood,
 I heard a shepherd girl essay
 A new romantic roundelay.

She saw me come, that maiden fair,
 And checked at once her rural air;
 "Sing on, sing on," I cried, "sweet bird!
 Renew the charming strain I heard."

12.

Enrich'd with heaven's divinest dyes,
 I saw, and bless'd the soothing hour,
 When, Briquebec, in eve's stormy skies
 The rainbow spann'd thy donjon-tower;¹
 As from a distant world it came,
 Around thy rifted walls to throw
 A halo of thy former fame —
 A smile on thy wild cheek of woe.
 Time was thy Lion used to shine
 The first in every martial fray;
 Now farewell Bertrand's noble line!
 Adieu the Lords of Val-de-Seye!

13.

Valognes! in pleasure's playful wrath,
 I'd wish my friend no harsher doom,
 Than loitering round thine ivied bath,
 Whose every echo talks of Rome;²

"How can I sing," she cried, "alas!
 When I've this dreary wood to pass?
 I fear the wolves—ah, well-away!
 The frightful wolves and the beasts of prey."

"Sing on, sing on, 'tis a false alarm;
 We'll pass the forest, arm in arm;
 Sing on, sing on, sweet mountain-bird,
 Renew the charming strain I heard."

"Not a living thing shall we meet with here,
 But a hind who attends to his vintage near;
 Sing on, sing on, from the rich ripe vine,
 We will taste a cup of his country wine."

"We will drink one cup—we will both drink there,
 To all lovers' healths, to my mistress fair;
 And without forgetting the one whose bliss
 It is thy rosy cheek to kiss!"

¹ The octagonal tower of Briquebec castle, of which a drawing appears in this volume. This castle was the seat of the Bertrands, barons of Briquebec, ancestors of the Russels; the Norman branch sank in female heirs. Their cognisance was, *or*, a lion rampant *vert*, crowned *argent*: and amongst other domains, the whole valley of the Seye, or as it is termed in charters, Val de Seggia, belonged to them.

² Near Valognes are the ruins of a Roman bath and amphitheatre.

Or terraced circus, where, to view
 Some great proconsul's festal shows,
 Thy crowds swarm'd in: heaven's nursing dew
 Now fosters there the wilding rose;
 For thus it is kind Nature loves
 To solace desolate decay.
 Farewell to Querqueville's column'd groves! ¹
 Adieu to Greneville's castled bay! ²

14.

De Gerville! ³ in thy lettered home
 Days melted into hours; with thee
 To guide, 'twas luxury to roam
 Around the heathy crags of Brix;
 Whence the brave Bruce of old renown
 Sent forth those sons, whose memory still
 Is cherished in each Scottish town —
 Is blest on every Highland hill;
 There not a pine its boughs spread wide,
 Nor wave danced by, but seem'd to say,
 "Bear back the message of our pride
 To Holyrood and Colonsay!"

¹ Querqueville is the little village in whose churchyard James the Second stood to view the battle of La Hogue.

² Greneville, the little hamlet whence the ancestors of Lord Nugent drew their surname, is situated on the sea-coast near La Hogue. Our drawing of La Hogue comprises the mount which formed the *emplacement* of their castle.

³ It is to this eminent antiquary and amiable man that I was indebted for my access to the archives at St. Loo, and to the chartulary of Savigny, which is in his possession. Besides his great hospitality, I was also indebted to him for a delightful excursion to Brix, which gave its name to the Bruces. Their castle stood midway between Valognes and Cherbourg, upon a lofty hill, surrounded with woods of the most romantic wildness. Colonsay is one of the Hebrides, whence the Bruces derived their title of *Lords of the Isles*. M. de Gerville is the author of several most valuable articles in the *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, on the ancient castles in Lower Normandy, which every English antiquary should possess.

15.

Farewell, farewell ! fresh marvels claim
 The passing song, where rich Bayeux
 Gives, as 'tis fit she should, to fame,
 O Wace ! thy wild " *Roman de Rou* ;"¹
 She who preserves, so bravely wrought,
 War's pictured Conquest, quaint, yet clear,
 And gay as though the needle sought
 To trifle with the tilting spear.
 Who made the barbs so proudly prance,
 Of England's court, I will not say,
 Nor venture e'en to cross a lance
 With De la Rue or Delaunéy.

16.

Learn'd De la Rue ! with Caen's gray towers,
 Hail, and farewell ! Time's hour-glass ran
 Pure gold, in Cambes' delightful bowers,
 With thee and thy belov'd Mathan.²
 Or pacing slow Saint Stephen's aisle,
 Or, grave, the Conqueror's castled lea,
 The ivied fosse, the Saxon pile,
 In echoing whispers spoke of thee.
 But, hark — the snorting steeds that prance
 To whirl me on my homeward way !
 Farewell to Fancy's musing trance —
 Adieu each loved and lorn Abbaye !

¹ It is at Bayeux that M. Pluquet, the editor of the *Roman de Rou*, resides; and that the celebrated tapestry is preserved which depicts the battle of Hastings. The period to which this matchless relic ought to be ascribed, has given rise to much archaeological controversy; the Abbé de la Rue, in his dissertation on the subject, attributing the work to Matilda, the queen of Henry the First; whilst M. Delaunéy ascribes it to Queen Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror.

² The Comte de Mathan: his country seat is at Cambes, near Caen. The Abbé de la Rue, Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Caen, resides with him; he possesses the chartulary of the abbey of St. Stephen's at Caen; that of St. Trinity, or the Abbaye aux Dames, is in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris.

17.

Yet, ere we go, on generous *Laire*,¹
 My Muse ! set thou thy tuneful seal ;
 Nor mild *De Caumont's*² merits spare,
 Le *Chaudé's*³ taste, *Trébutien's*⁴ zeal :
 That done, seek *Lasson's* halls, whose lord,⁵
 All strangers as we were, threw wide
 His festal doors in frank accord,
 And chain'd us down by Beauty's side.
 Go ! scarce in Chivalry's best days,
 Had minstrel cause like me to say,
 Praise to *Delivry's* worth ; and praise
 And fame to fair *Pont-Bellanger* !⁶

18.

Beneath *Aurora's* kindling smile,
 From steep *Saint Catharine's* sward impearl'd,
Rouen ! 'twas worth an angel's while
 To gaze upon thy glorious world :
 Here, midst its gay green islets, flowed
 For leagues thy stream of sapphire ; there,
 Thy Gothic fanes majestic shewed
 Like fairy fabrics poised in air.
 Thy pomp the' horizon scarce confined ;
 On bark and bower the sunshine lay,
 And stamped in colours on my mind
 A picture ne'er to pass away.

¹ For a deserved encomium on this obliging gentleman, see *Dibdin's " Picturesque Tour,"* vol. i. p. 311.

² Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy.

³ *M. le Chaudé d'Anisy.*

⁴ *M. Trébutien*, author of a *Persian Anthology.*

⁵ The Marquess *Delivry*. *Lasson*, where he has a handsome seat, with grounds laid out in the English style, is a hamlet adjoining that of *Rosel*, near *Caen.*

⁶ *La Comtesse de Pont-Bellanger.*

19.

Then came thy dead, whose ashes yet
 Thou lov'st — thy Pirate-patriarch,¹
 Our lion-soul'd Plantagenet,²
 And France's martyr'd Joan of Arc !
 Across Thought's magic glass, in pride,
 But with a face so full of wo,
 Her laurell'd ghost was seen to glide ;
 Its shape disturb'd the' enchanted show.
 Now farewell both ! the living claim
 A debt the Muse is proud to pay ;
 All hail Le Prevost's noble name,³
 And courteous Frere and mild Licquet !⁴

20.

That fatal steep I gain'd at length,
 With bliss to pain how near allied !
 Up which, with superhuman strength,
 The lover bore his promised bride.⁵

¹ Duke Rollo. ² Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The remains of the former and heart of the latter are entombed in the cathedral at Rouen, in which city Joan, the celebrated Pucelle d'Orléans, perished at the stake.

³ M. Auguste le Prevost. It is to this erudite gentleman that we are indebted for the notes to the *Roman de Rou*, and many of the historical *souvenirs* of Normandy in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of Nodier and De Cailleux. I had the happiness of his guidance to the chief antiquities of Rouen.

⁴ M. Theodore Licquet, the translator of many of the Waverley Novels.

⁵ La Côte des deux Amans, where the Seine and the Andelle unite, near Amfreville. On this shore arose, in the chivalric ages, the castle of a baron, who having one beautiful daughter, consented to give her hand to the chevalier that had won her heart, only on the singular condition that he should carry the lady up the lofty and steep hill without resting. An altar was erected on the plain, at which, in the event of his success, the nuptials were to be solemnised ; and the whole country assembled to witness the achievement. Full of affection and impatience, the young knight took the precious burden in his arms, and traversed the ascent with a swiftness which slackened only as he approached the summit. But from below they saw him make a last effort to reach the spot marked out. He gained it ; but the next moment drooped, and fell. A confused murmur of hope, suspense, and fear, accompanied his steps, until a shriek of horror from the lady announced, that he had perished in the effort ! She survived

Fond, faithful pair ! around your tomb
 The poplars sigh ; the waters moan ;
 And, sorrowing for your piteous doom,
 Impassion'd Echo soothes her own ;—
 Here raised the sire his cloister'd cell,
 To vain Remorse a lingering prey ;
 And duly toll'd the convent-bell
 To chase her haunting fiends away.

21.

My eager step and asking eye
 The Lady of the Mount discern'd,
 As towards distant Romilly
 Askance her optic tube she turn'd :
 Curious her garden-walls I scann'd ;
 She hail'd me in my native tongue ;
 And quick, with hospitable hand,
 The grated portals open flung.
 Enough — 'tis past ! a sweet adieu
 These leaves of ever-living bay,
 Plucked from the spot, breathe forth to you
Les Deux Amans ! benign Laisné !

22.

But to bid farewell to thy towers,
 O Chateau-Gaillard !¹ is to sweep
 Away the joys of countless hours
 Passed on thy high and hoary steep.

him but a short time. They were both interred upon the mount ; and the father strove to expiate his cruelty by raising there a funeral chapel, which, under the title of *La Prieuré des deux Amans*, existed to the French Revolution. A villa now occupies its site, belonging to M. Laisné. On the morning of my visit to the summit of the formidable slope, which I reached after an interesting but fatiguing walk from Fleury, I was accosted by his lady, a native of Southampton, who, through her garden telescope, had witnessed my approach. She invited me to enter, became my guide to the site of the old chapel, and entertained me, with the greatest hospitality, to the luxury of an English breakfast.

¹ This magnificent ruin of the favourite castle of Richard the First is on the banks of the Seine, near *Les Andelys*, the birth-place of Poussin and the retreat

Time has dealt harshly with thy state,
 Darling of England ! yet Renown
 Is grown thy vassal, nor can Fate
 Yet rob thee of that ancient frown
 Which made thee fearful ; on thy brow
 Sits Pride, while Freedom loves to say,
 Of all her Norman holds the last
 Wert thou to own the ' invader's sway.

23.

Born in one year ; in scorn baptised
 Of Peril ; proof to all attacks
 Save cold neglect's,—thy strength disguised,
 Yet mocks the Goth's dismantling axe.
 'Tis well ! where Cœur-de-Lion dwell'd,
 And brave De Lacy fought, each stone,
 Spared by the piety of eld,
 Should be preserved as Glory's own.
 And dear be e'en the weeds that creep
 Amongst the crags I quit ! — for aye
 Farewell thy vines along the steep !
 Adieu thy bluebells on the brae !

of Thomas Corneille. A single year sufficed to form its immense fosses and to raise those noble walls which might seem to be the structure of a life-time. When Cœur-de-Lion saw it finished, he is said to have exclaimed, with exultation, " How beautiful she is, this daughter of a year ! " It was the last hold of the English in Normandy ; and, under the command of Roger de Lacy, long mocked the efforts of Philip-Augustus, who came in person to invest it, in August 1203. The siege was memorable from its length, the incredible exertions of De Lacy, and the great sufferings which the besieged endured until its capture in the following March. It was afterwards dismantled by one of the Louis, lest it should become the hold of any of the feudal barons whom he dreaded. Since, or at the time of the revolution, it was offered for sale by the French government ; but as its walls offer too firm a resistance to those who might wish to destroy it, it is happily left to stand for the admiration of other centuries and visitants. From the castle-crowned and viny heights of La Roche-Guion, the last station in the Vexin, and which presents to the eye of the traveller a picture of consummate beauty, with the Seine winding for leagues beneath its chain of hills, terminated my last view, and my " Farewell to Normandy."

24.

Now break the Cup ! the spell is past —
The guest gone by — the banquet o'er ;
'Tis vain ! 'tis vain ! the fragments cast
Yet brighter lights than beam'd before.
Then send them round like rosary-beads
Dissever'd from their native string,
And, as from friend to friend proceeds
Each glittering relic, should it bring
But back one kind warm wish, my lyre,
I will not chide thy lengthen'd lay,
Though vacant of celestial fire : —
Now hush thy strings — the hills grow gray !

La Roche-Guion, 10th month 6th, 1826.

ADDENDUM to pp. 114 and 118.

Although Robert de Waleran or Walrond had no offspring by the Lady Maud Russell, the name and distinction of his family were perpetuated by his cousin Sir John Walrond, of Potington, in Devonshire, to whom he refers in one of his deeds extant amongst the Harleian MSS. For, marrying in the reign of Henry the Third the heiress of Robert de Bradfelle, he obtained with her the manor of Bradfelle or Bradfield, in Devon, which yet remains in the possession of the descendant of his male heir, William Henry Walrond, Esq., of Bradfield, cousin to the present Sir Bethel Walrond, who has obligingly furnished me with these particulars.

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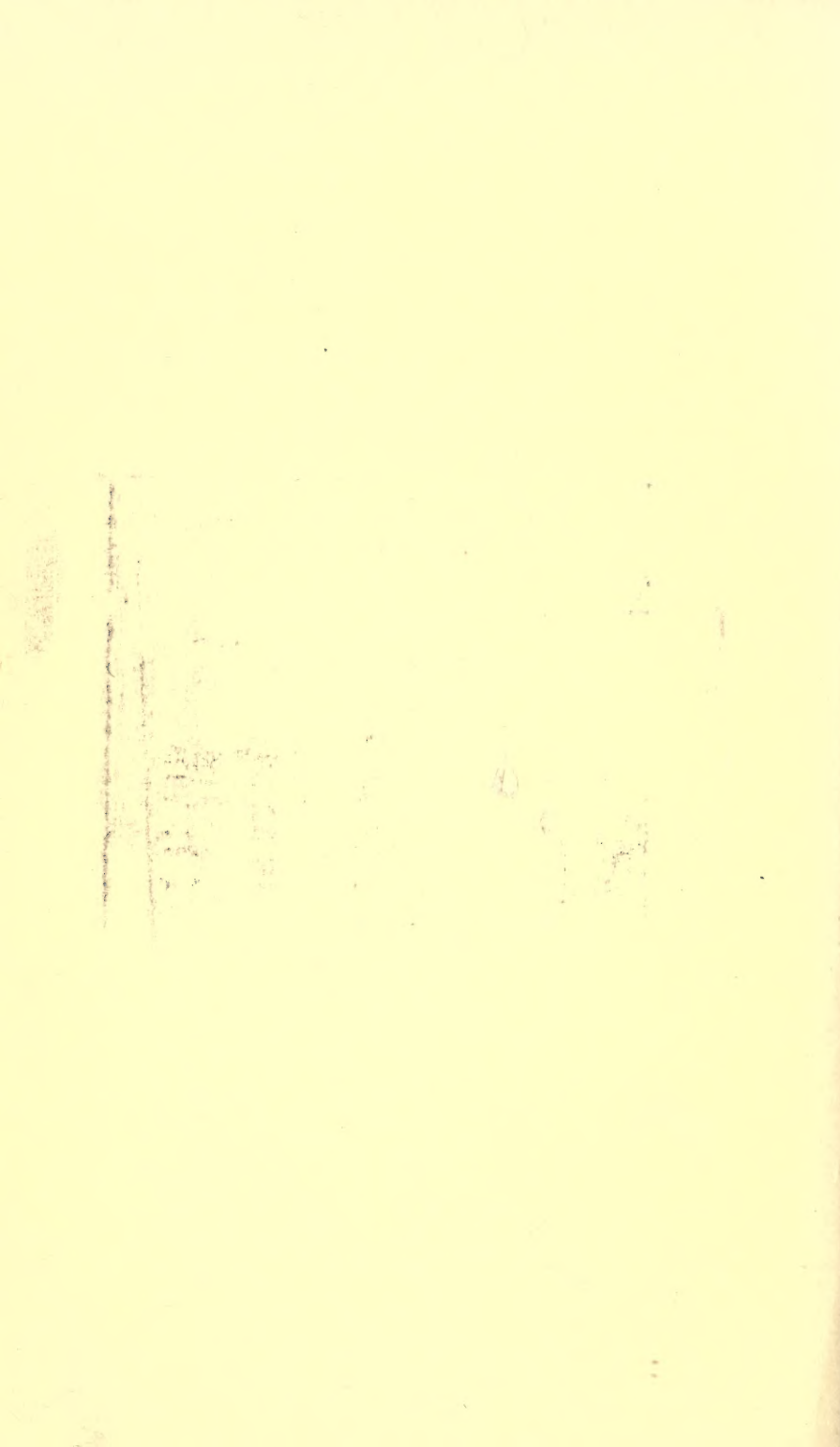
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